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A SKETCH OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY

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FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

LADY AMHERST OF HACKNEY

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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

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LONDON
1904

Berenike
Wife of Ptolemy Euergates I

I DEDICATE THIS BOOK

TO

MY HUSBAND AND CHILDREN

AND GRANDCHILDREN

PREFACE

THE word "Egypt" has always possessed a peculiar charm for me. In the days of my childhood I listened with breathless interest to the stories told me by my father, the late Admiral Mitford, of Mahommed Ali, with whom he spent some time as a young man; of the journey he took with Ibrahim Pasha; of the beauties of the Nile, and the fairy-like description of Cairo and its inhabitants.

All this gave me an intense longing to see the country, but it was not till the year 1860 that I was able to gratify my wish. Since then I have paid many visits to the Nile, and each time with increased pleasure.

In 1892 additional interest was created by the excavations made for us by Mr. Howard Carter at Tel el Amarna, and also by those carried on in the Necropolis of Gubat el Howa, near Aswan, by my daughter, Lady William Cecil, and her eldest son, during the winter of 1901–2.[1]

I have also been able to study Egyptology from the large collection of Antiquities at Didlington, begun in 1860, and I have found great advantage and assistance in thus being able to refer to original objects.

The number of travellers to Egypt has now multiplied enormously, and as many of my friends about to visit that country have told me how anxious they were to learn somewhat of the land and its people, it occurred to me that an abridgment of its History from the many large and learned books on the subject, might be of use.

In a sketch such as this, much important matter must of necessity be omitted, but I hope the present volume will justify my efforts.

[1] *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypt.* Tome iv. p. 51. *Le Caire* 1903.

PREFACE

I wish to express my grateful thanks to Professors Erman, Naville, Wiedmann, Flinders Petrie, Lane-Poole, Mahaffy, and Sayce, Mr. J. G. Milne, Rev. M. Fowler, and Mrs. Butcher, for their permission to epitomize from their works: to Drs. Budge and Pinches, Sir John Aird, Sir H. Howorth, Sir H. Johnston, Sir T. Sutherland, Sir D. Mackenzie Wallace, Sir Reginald Wingate, Professor Hughes, Messrs. A. J. Butler, W. Crum, Seymour de Ricci, Miss Anna Moreton, and others, for their kind suggestions; and particularly to Professor Maspero for devoting so much of his valuable time to the reading and correction of the proofs of the early portion of the History.

My acknowledgments are also due to the donors of many of the illustrations, and to the publishers at home and abroad who have allowed me the free use of their copyrights.

But especially I must thank Mr. Percy Newberry, not only for supplying me with most valuable information, but for his kindly aid and encouragement throughout; also Mr. Basil Thomson for his friendly assistance, and Miss Meadows Taylor, who has acted as my amanuensis.

I must not forget to mention the affectionate and willing help given me by my daughters, and by my husband, who has supervised the production of the Maps.

MARGARET AMHERST
OF HACKNEY

Didlington, 1904

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MAP OF EGYPT AND THE NILE AS FAR SOUTH AS KHARTUM, WITH ENLARGEMENTS OF MEMPHIS AND THE TOMBS OF THE KINGS, AND MAP OF PALESTINE

ERRATA AND ADDENDA

Frontispiece. *For* "Euergates" *read* "Euergetes."

Page 7, line 20. *After* "Fashoda" *read*, "This town is now called Godak, its ancient name."

Page 110, *after* line 8. "An important find has been made by Legrain at Karnak (1904) of more than a hundred fine statues, dating from the VI to the XXVI Dynasty, and are supposed to have been hidden by the priests during the Persian invasion."

Page 111, *end of* line 27. "A mortuary chapel of this king has been found by Naville and Hall at Dêr el Bahari, which appears to be very perfect, and is the earliest example of such a building yet known. The account will be published by the Egyptian Exploration Fund."

Page 119, *after* line 32. "Many interesting tombs have been found at Beni Hasan by Garstang, some being intact and filled with models of various objects, and of people working at different trades and otherwise employed."

Page 134, line 21. "This tomb, after thirteen months' work, has been excavated. The length is 700 feet, the depth 321 feet. Sarcophagi of both the Queen and her father Thothmes I. were found in good preservation, but the bodies had been removed. There is reason to think that the mummy supposed to be that of a female slave, found with the royal mummies at Dêr el Bahari in 1881, was that of Hatshepsut."

Page 138, line 26. The tomb of Nefertari has been opened in 1904 by Schiaparelli, in the Tombs of the Queens at Thebes. Unfortunately it had been plundered, otherwise it was uninjured.

Page 180, line 28. *For* "north" *read* "west," and *for* "west" *read* "north."

Page 187, line 2. *For* "who" *read* "and."

Page 224, line 21. *For* "213 A.D." *read* "218 A.D."

Page 224, note. "This tablet has now been translated from the Latin by Seymour de Ricci, who states that it is the manumission of a slave called Helene in 121 A.D. It is engraved in wax on two boards, on the outside of which are the same words written on the boards in ink. These were formerly fastened together by strings. Similar tablets have been found, but this is the first deed giving freedom to a slave as yet brought to light." See *Pro. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, May 1904.

Page 402, line 8. *After* "a" *add* "temporary." The foundation stone of a new church was laid by H.R.H. Princess Henry of Battenberg during her recent visit to Khartum (1904).

A SKETCH
OF
EGYPTIAN HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE RIVER AND THE LAND

"The goodly streams of Nilus leaving,
Which from the land of Negroes flow,
Their inundations vast receiving
From thaws of Ethiopian snow."
SANDYS' *Travels*, 1670 A.D.

THERE is no country with which to compare Egypt: it is surrounded on all sides by natural barriers, which cause it to be self-contained in a manner unknown to other continental lands. The length of Egypt proper from the Mediterranean to the First Cataract is 750 miles. It is bounded on the east by the Arabian Desert (the ancient Ta-shut, or "Land of Emptiness") and the Red Sea, and on the west by the Libyan Desert. To the south lies Nubia, which was sometimes independent and at other times under the sway of the various rulers of Egypt. Northern Nubia now forms part of Upper Egypt, and including that portion of it (210 miles in length) between the First and Second Cataracts, with the oases, the cultivated area of Egypt is about 12,500 square miles. According to the Ptolemaic inscriptions at Edfu, the Græco-Egyptians reckoned Egypt from below Elephantine to be 445 miles from south to north by a width of 59 miles. South of the 22° parallel lie the various provinces of the Sudan, covering an area of about 2,000,000 square miles.

The intercourse of Egypt in remote times with foreign nations was limited, principally confined to wars with the savage tribes upon its southern borders, and with the peoples of

Syria and the East. But neither these wars nor the commercial relations which ensued were sufficient to change the character or habits of the people in any marked degree, until after the invasions by the Greeks and Romans, when the influence of foreign art and foreign elements can be distinctly traced. It is apparent, therefore, that having been so little affected by external causes, a marked individuality was created among the Egyptians, shown not only in the still existing monuments and writings, but especially in the fundamental manners and customs of the people, which have survived, even under successive conquerors, from the ages before Menes to the present day.

The wealth of Egypt in mines and quarries, and the fertility of its soil, which grew wheat and other grain in plenty, made it self-supporting and independent of outside aid. For these reasons it has always been a possession much coveted by other nations.

The life of Egypt depends upon the river Nile, a mighty stream which pursues a course of 4000 miles from its rise near the Equator to the Mediterranean Sea. Not only has it been until recent years the highway from the north, but without it there could be no cultivation, as very little rain falls in the country north of Khartûm, and there are but few springs to provide water for the use of the people.

The source of this great river has been sought for hundreds of years. Herodotus, who visited Egypt in 460 B.C., made many inquiries about it, and was told the fable of the river running both north and south from the caverns of Krophi and Mophi, supposed to be situated near the First Cataract. The Egyptians themselves believed that Hapi, the Nile god, came forth from a cavern in that place at the time of the inundation. The legend that the river was formed by the tears of Isis weeping for Osiris at Philæ, is found on the Pyramid of Unas, and is quoted by Pausanias. Eratosthenes, the philosopher, 276–196 B.C., following the story of Homer, says: "The cranes migrate as far as the lakes beyond Egypt where the Nile has its source. There dwell the Pigmies; and this is no fable, it is the simple truth." Aristotle says he does not believe that the tales about the Pigmies are altogether fabulous, but thought they were a tribe in Upper Egypt who had extremely small horses and lived in caves. Strabo (24 B.C.) said it rose in the Mountains of the Moon. Ptolemy, the Greek geographer, born at Pelusium A.D. 70, described the country, and he was still considered the chief authority as late as 1478, when a map made from his account was first engraved. This map showed two distinct branches of the Nile as rising in the Mountains

of the Moon, both flowing through lakes in Central Africa, joining farther north in one great stream. Ludolphus, in the History of Ethiopia, 1691, says: "In the region of Ethiopia there issued two great rivers, the one passing through Nigretia to the Atlantic, the other through Egypt to the Mediterranean." Seneca mentions an expedition sent by Nero to find the sources of the Nile, and many other attempts followed during succeeding centuries.

Mohammed Ali sent three expeditions into the Sudan between 1823 and 1843, to explore the Upper Nile. In 1858 Speke discovered the great lake, the Victoria Nyanza, and on the 20th July 1862, proved that the Nile flowed out of it towards the north over the huge rocks forming the Ripon Falls. Many rivers contribute to fill this great inland sea, but the Kagera, which rises in the mountains of Ruanda to the south-west, in 3° 50′ S. lat., is generally supposed to be the true source of the Nile. A few years ago this was an unknown country, but modern enterprise has done much in bringing to light the unexplored regions of "Darkest Africa."

Many routes have now become well known through the length and breadth of the Sudan, which extends from Cape Verde on the Atlantic to Cape Guardafui on the Indian Ocean; but a small portion only of this vast territory is at present connected with Egyptian history. It is astonishing to think of the rapid growth made in geographical exploration, scientific research, and engineering skill, yet there still remain large districts which await the undaunted energy of future explorers. The principal rivers which can be traced into the lakes that form the reservoirs of the Nile, begin on the northern slopes of the great range of mountains lying to the north of the volcanic Lake Kivu, which, surrounded by upheavals, is forced to a high level, and from it the Rusisi passes southwards to Lake Tanganyika. The Ruchuru River, rising in the Kirunga Mountains, flows north into Lake Albert Edward, so named by Stanley in 1876, and situated in the Congo Free State.

The scenery of this country is most varied, and is closed in on the south by the marvellous volcanic region Mfumbiro, where active volcanic cones are still burning, and where streams of lava deposit form impassable barriers south and west of Lake Albert Edward. To the east lies the beautiful and healthy plateau of Ankole, inhabited by a race called Bahima, who possess a highly cultivated native civilisation, with characteristics and features closely resembling the ancient Egyptians.

Farther north rises the magnificent range of Ruwenzori, in the western province of Uganda, whose snow-clad summits

reach an approximate height of 20,000 feet. From the northern end of Lake Albert Edward the Isango or Semliki River flows through a green grassy plain in the midst of a dense forest which extends far to the west. The strange race of Pigmies discovered by Stanley, and other tribes of small stature, inhabit this district. Sir Harry Johnston found here a new species of animal, the Okapi, resembling a small pony; this may be the creature mentioned by Aristotle. Zebras, baboons, chimpanzees, and numerous wild beasts, as well as beautiful birds, butterflies, and flowers, abound. The Semliki River varies in width from 60 to 100 yards, and during its course of 130 miles falls about 1000 feet over many rapids. The southern portion belongs to that part of the Congo Free State leased by the British Government to Belgium in 1894. The northern is in the British Uganda Protectorate. A railway was opened from Mombasa, on the Indian Ocean, to Uganda in 1902. Stanley's letter inviting the missionaries to convert Uganda, written in 1805, was given by him to a Belgian, Linant de Bellefond, who volunteered to take it to Europe, but on his way he was murdered by the Bari, and it was not until the Government expedition found his body that the letter was discovered, having been carefully concealed in one of his boots. Thus, by this strange stroke of fate, the future policy of the British Uganda Protectorate was established.

The Semliki enters the southern end of the Albert Nyanza, which lies in the province of Unyoro, and was discovered by Sir Samuel Baker in 1864. This lake is surrounded by marshes and grass-grown plains, where much big game is found, and thousands of waterfowl; but the district is scantily inhabited.

The Victoria Nyanza is 3880 feet above the sea-level; its area is over 26,000 square miles; and in 1877, Stanley, by sailing completely round it, proved it to be one of the largest lakes in the world. The political boundary between Great Britain and Germany cuts the lake near its centre in 1° S. lat. The course of the Kagera River, which enters the lake from the west, in 0° 58′ S. lat., is distinctly traceable through it until it reaches Napoleon Bay at its northernmost point. Here the great river, now called the Victoria Nile, issues forth as a fine stream 300 yards wide. Soon after, it precipitates itself over the Ripon Falls, which are from 30 to 40 feet in height, and were formerly called the "Jinja." The beauty of the scenery is hard to describe; the clear green waves above the Falls, the snowy clouds of spray below, with the richly wooded banks on either side rising to a height of about 200 feet, and the distant

A PEEP OF VICTORIA NYANZA

mountains crowning the landscape beyond, form a truly marvellous picture. The Victoria (or Somerset) Nile makes a descent of 700 feet in 50 miles, forming many rapids and cascades, until it winds into Lake Kioga, an unhealthy, swampy, fever-stricken region, and then continues in a northerly direction for about 100 miles till it reaches the Karuma Falls, 2° 15′ N. lat., where it rushes through an extremely narrow passage between high rocks. Below this point the stream is joined by the Kokolle River, and at Foweira, a few miles farther north, by the Tochi. Here it takes a rapid bend to the west, and becomes unnavigable till below the Murchison Falls. These Falls are about 120 feet in height and 50 yards in width, and on either side the steep rocks are covered with tropical vegetation. A few miles below this point, at Fajaio, the river again becomes navigable, until it reaches the Albert Nyanza, where, after making an abrupt curve, it flows out again towards the north-east. Its course is much impeded by sandbanks and water-weeds as far as Wadelai, and between this point and Dufile, now a Belgian post in the Lado "enclave," the banks are treeless, although forests clothe the adjacent valleys. After Dufile the river loses its lake-like aspect, and rushes through narrow gorges in the rocks. The Nilotic negroes are here of the Bari type; they dwell in huts surrounded by thorny hedges to keep out the wild animals. Between Dufile and Nemulé, the Nile, which is here called the Bahr el Gebel, is a broad, steady stream, but at the latter place the rapids begin and continue for 100 miles, rendering the river useless for navigation, and this distance down to Fort Berkeley (the ancient Bedden) has to be traversed by land. The scenery is very pretty, with wooded hills and distant mountains of the Latuka range to the east, and others on the west, from which flow many tributary streams that feed the Nile.

Some miles farther down stands Gondokoro, on high ground which suggests a healthy position, but in reality is not so. A few houses were left there by Sir Samuel Baker, who made it his station, and it now forms the northern port of the Nile provinces of Uganda. There are several Bari villages on both banks, and attempts at cultivation by the natives. The river here is about 300 yards in width, and the country picturesque and well wooded, but towards Lado becomes less interesting. This town was formerly the capital of Equatoria; it lies low, with a long island in front of it. It is a Belgian station, and there are a few well built brick huts; the climate, however, is unhealthy. The next settlement, Kiro, is also a Belgian one, and most unhealthy; very few white people can live there, and even the

black soldiers die. The forests almost reach the river, and exquisite little birds, bee-eaters and others, build in the cliffs, while beautiful butterflies flit amongst the flowers. Below Kiro the river divides, but is so cut up into different channels that it is difficult to say which is the original stream; 5 miles lower down the waters again unite and form a strong current. At 388 miles are the ruins of a Dervish "dem," or fortification; it is well placed on grassy ground so as to command the river, which sweeps round it on two sides, and continues its broad and steady course as far as Bor, 6° 12′ 46″ N. lat. The Deleb palm grows on the banks. The Dinka village of Bor is clean and neat, and the people are now friendly and obliging. On the swampy ground below there are many hippopotami, and the river spreads into wide lagoons. Formerly an Austrian Mission was established at Kanisa, 6° 46′ N. lat., but was abandoned in 1864 owing to the unhealthiness of the climate. Traces are found of the Church and Mission fruit garden, and a few orange and lemon trees still survive.

At Ghaba Shambé all high lands are left behind, and the river Bahr ez Zaraf here separates itself from the Nile, which it rejoins beyond Lake Nu. The greatest obstacle to navigation on the Nile is known as "The Sudd," or "Sadd," which begins at this point, and consists of masses of papyrus, tiger-grass, and other water-weeds, as well as of a tree called Ambatch, whose roots are deeply embedded in the mud. Another plant, called Um Sûf, or "Mother of Wool," which floats on the water, is blown by the strong winds into blocks, and becomes entangled with the other weeds, thus forming islands often several acres in extent, which effectually bar the passage. To remove these, the surface weeds are set on fire and burnt to the water's edge. Dervish prisoners were employed in 1899 and 1900 in cutting trenches and dividing the Sudd into blocks about 4 yards square. To these, steel hawsers were attached from a steamer, which then went full speed down stream and tugged up the masses by the roots. It was a work of great difficulty to keep these blocks separate and tow them to the shore, the varying winds having great influence on their position. Major Peake and Lieutenant Drury, under the direction of Sir William Garstin, have made a clear passage throughout the whole length of this district to Lake Nu (about 72 miles), where the Sudd ceases. The scenery is monotonous and dreary, and there is an extraordinary absence of animal life. The decayed vegetation emits a most noxious smell. The portion of the river called Bahr el Gebel ends at the eastern point of Lake Nu, or Moghren el Bahur, "The Meeting of the Rivers." At

the western end of this lake, the Bahr el Ghazal enters it, and brings down with it a great quantity of Um Sûf. There are a few of the Nuer tribes living on its shores, and the lake derives its name from them. They are thought by some to be the descendants of the ancient Nobata.

From the exit of the Bahr el Gebel from the Albert Nyanza to this point is 715 miles, or 1144 kilometres. A short distance north of Lake Nu is a large lagoon, through which a channel was cut in 1863 by Miss Tinné, the Dutch traveller, and called after her, the Maya Signora. It is about 500 yards wide, and surrounded by a papyrus swamp. After the river leaves Lake Nu it is called Bahr el Abiad, or White Nile, and is rejoined 75° lower down by the Bahr ez Zaraf, which separated from it at Ghaba Shambé. The Lolle River also joins it on the west, and the Sobat on the east, 5 miles to the south of Tewfikia, a station made by Sir Samuel Baker on a high bank above the river. This is held by a portion of the Fashoda garrison, which has been moved there from that station, as it is considered more healthy. Fashoda—desolate as it is—remains the principal seat of government of this part of the country. Considerable numbers of the Shilluk tribe live in this neighbourhood. At Renk there is a Dinka village, and both this tribe and the Nuer are less shy than formerly, and bring fowls and sheep to the steamers for barter. Copper wire is much prized, though the use of money is being gradually introduced.

At Abu Zeid the river is fordable in low Nile seasons, owing to a very curious formation of beds of fresh-water oysters (*Etheria*), causing solid blocks which are most dangerous to vessels. These are now being cut away and a passage cleared. The natives here are very poor, and try to cultivate the land, but live mostly by fishing. The country is marshy and uninteresting as far as Abba Island, one of the principal meeting-places on the caravan route between Khordofan, Sennaar, and the Red Sea. It is here that the Mahdi gathered his followers together and preached to them the doctrines of Islam, and during his time the island was highly cultivated. Maize and other crops are still grown. Abba Island is 147 miles from Khartûm, and 101 miles farther north stands Kawa, where there are Government stores and signs of prosperity, and at El Duêm there is an increasing trade, principally in gum brought by caravans from Khordofan.

Khartûm, which was founded by Mohammed Ali and Khurshid Pasha, is situated near the junction of the Blue and White Niles, and presents an imposing effect from the river. The Gordon College, of which the foundation stone was laid by

Lord Cromer in 1900, the Palace, several Government buildings, and private houses and hotels, are built along the banks. Bright gardens and groves of palms add to the refreshing greenness of the scene. The back of the town is now laid out in wide streets and squares; avenues are planted, and ruined walls and houses—sad remnants of the memorable siege—are being cleared away. A new mosque was opened by the Khedive Abbas in 1901, at which time contingents from the wild Dinka and Shilluk tribes visited the town and performed war-dances in honour of His Highness. The market covers a large space, and though very primitive, is the centre of a lively trade, and a daily scene of picturesque Eastern life. Near the market is a parade-ground, and eastwards, up the Blue Nile, fortifications and barracks have been built, and beyond these stretches the desert.

Between Khartûm and Omdurman lies the long, low island of Tuti. At its southern point the Bahr el Azrek, or Blue Nile, and the Bahr el Abiad, or White Nile, meet and unite their streams, forming the one grand and majestic river Nile. The difference in colour of the two Niles has given rise to their names; the white colour of the one and the dark blue of the other is distinctly marked as they run side by side, nor do they entirely blend for a great distance. In 1769, Bruce, the Scotch traveller, was allowed by the King of Abyssinia to attempt the discovery of the source of the Blue Nile, and after encountering great difficulties, he found the river near Empfra, to the south-east of Lake Tzana, of which he had a good view from a neighbouring hill. Here, the stream rushed through a narrow channel, over which a stone bridge had been built, 25 feet in breadth, resting on the rocks on either side. A short distance below the bridge the river suddenly widened to a breadth of a quarter of a mile, and fell in a magnificent cascade 40 feet in height. "The marvel of the scene was so great," he says, "that time could never efface or eradicate it from my memory, the country being one of inexpressible beauty and extraordinary fragrance." Geronimo de Lobo, a Portuguese missionary, in an account of his journeys in Abyssinia in 1629, tells how the bridge was built by two stone-cutters who had come in his company from India, in order to build churches in Ethiopia.[1]

Bruce returned to Gondar, and the following year again renewed his efforts, which this time proved successful. Near the village of Geesh, among the mountains of the same name in the Ampara country, which was inhabited by the Agows tribe, he was shown a bright green grassy hillock, out of which flowed the source of the Blue Nile he had so long and

[1] English translation, Sir Peter Wyche, 1673.

eagerly sought. The natives seemed to venerate the spot, and obliged Bruce to take off his shoes. This hillock was tended with great care, and kept in the shape of a kind of altar, and yearly sacrifices of cattle and various sacred rites were held there. The springs rose from small holes, one of 2 feet and one of 11 inches, and flowed eastward. Bruce reached this spot on the 4th November 1770. He did not follow the course of the stream, but returned to Gondar. Father Geronimo gives an almost identical description.[1]

It has since been proved that the Abbai, the name given to the upper portion of the Blue Nile, takes its rise in a mountain in these highlands, 11° N. lat., and after flowing in a northern direction for 70 miles, it enters Lake Tzana on the south-west side, and flows out again at the south-east end, not many miles distant, in the same way as the White Nile flows in and out of the Albert Nyanza. The lake, which lies in a deep depression, has been identified with the Coloe Palus of the ancients, described in Ptolemy's map as the source of the Astopus, or Blue Nile. After emerging from the lake, the river enters a deep and narrow channel, and afterwards makes a large bend, first to the south-east, then westward, and finally to the north, where it joins the White Nile at Khartûm. The current is very swift, three miles an hour being its slowest rate, and it is constantly increased by tributary streams during the rainy season. The upper reaches of the Blue Nile are as yet but little known, but appear to traverse beautifully wooded and rich country. A Treaty of great value, both to trade and irrigation, has lately been concluded between King Edward VII. and King Menelik of Abyssinia, and a new frontier line has been established. Sennaar was the former capital of this district, and the seat of the ancient Fung Empire; a small remnant of this race is left, but the most important tribe there now is the Kinana. After Sennaar the river flows through a pleasant country covered with large trees, from which hang masses of flowering creepers, and in whose branches birds of bright plumage and monkeys abound. The principal town on the river is Wad Medani, with a population of 20,000 inhabitants, and a military garrison; here a brisk trade is carried on in grain, gums, cotton goods, and other articles, as well as in cattle and long-tailed, long-legged sheep. A fine kind of leather work is also done here. The town of Abu Haraz lies on the eastern bank, and near Khartûm are the ruins of Soba, the ancient capital of Alwah, and evidently an interesting spot in which to carry out archæological excavations. In this neighbourhood, at Khartûm and at Metemma, a remnant of

[1] In translation from the French by Legrand, published London, 1735.

the great Jaalin tribe is still found, but it was almost exterminated by the Khalifa in 1896–97.

Nearly opposite Khartûm, on the east bank of the Blue Nile, is the old town of Halfyiah, now the terminus of the Desert railway, whence all the trade and traffic of the north is carried across the river to Khartûm.

A little below the junction of the two great rivers stands Omdurman, the chief city of the Sudan under the Khalifa. It is a very large place, 4 miles wide and stretching for 7 miles along the western bank of the river. Its various landing-places are crowded with men and boats, bringing merchandise from all parts of the country, and the town when captured was surrounded by a high stone wall in which were several gateways. The streets are wide and straggling; the houses, both round and square, are of mud, and are thatched with palm branches, "halfa" grass, and "dhura" stalks. The market-places are very spacious, and well stored with everything to supply the wants of the natives. The camel market is of world-wide fame, and here are constantly to be seen representatives of every tribe in the Sudan, and in fact of the whole of the Nile Valley. All meet now in peace and safety, where, a few short years ago, confusion, treachery, and turmoil prevailed. The Khalifa's house and the crumbling ruins of the Mahdi's Tomb are almost the only reminders of those dreadful rulers and of those awful years of terror and of bloodshed which preceded the hoisting of the British and Egyptian flags on the ruins of the palace at Khartûm, after the battle at Omdurman, on September 2, 1898.

Some 9 miles farther north are the Kerreri Hills, and in the plain below and around the detached hill of Surgham the great battle was fought that finally crushed the power of the Khalifa. The river continues its course between mud-banks sparsely cultivated as far as Gebel Royan, and passing through a narrow gorge breaks into the rapids of Shabluka, called the Sixth Cataract. These are studded with green islands, and the scenery is lovely, but the navigation most dangerous as far as Mernat Island, where Gordon's steamer, the *Bordein*, was wrecked. Metemma stands on the western bank, and is one of the starting-points for the desert of Bayuda; nearly opposite is Shendy, now a large and important town, with a railway station and cavalry garrison. Farther on, near Shendy, and some two miles from the river, are the pyramids of Meroe. These can be seen from the railway. There are about 40, and are most curious and interesting.

Before reaching Berber, at Ed Damar, the Atbara River joins the Nile, and is its last tributary. It rises not far from the Blue

Nile in Abyssinia, in the Samara Mountains, where it is known as the Takasse. It was named by the ancients "Astoborus," and is called the Bahr el Aswad, or Black River, from the great quantity of fertilising mud it brings down. This river is about 800 miles long, and the stream is deep and rapid; its shores are capable of much cultivation, and its banks near its confluence with the Nile are fairly wooded. The famous battlefield of Atbara is about 40 miles from the point where the railway bridge crosses the river.

Twenty miles lower down the Nile is Berber, a long, straggling town of mud-brick houses, which lies to the north of the old town, now in ruins. This is the starting-point for caravans, which constantly cross on their way from the Nile to the Red Sea, passing by the wells of Obak to Suakin. The journey occupies about 14 days, but soon a railway will be made across the desert *viâ* Sinkat and the Khor el Arab to the Atbara, and thence to the Nile. At Abadia the gunboats sent out from England during the war in sections were put together and launched. There are cultivated patches of land and a few date-palms, as well as the ordinary "Dôm," but some time must elapse before the country can fully recover from the devastation caused by the rebellion of the Mahdi.

At some distance farther is the Fifth Cataract, between Genentti and the Wady el Homar. Smooth water and rapids succeed each other as far as Abudis. Thence, after passing a small cataract, Abu Hamed is reached. The town of Abu Hamed, which important post was seized from the Dervishes in 1897, is situated on the northernmost point of the great bend of the river opposite the island of Mograt. A new town is arising here since the war. Lower down stands the old fortress of El Kab, and six miles below the village of El Hebba, where Colonel Stewart and his party were murdered. This is the Monassir country, and its capital is Salamat, or "The Town of Peace." At the foot of a neighbouring isolated hill stand the ruins of a Christian church. The river here is broad and placid, and flows between banks of sand varied occasionally by patches of cultivation. The current grows stronger near the islands of Shoar, Kamsah, and Sherri, and breaks beyond Shukoc into a series of cataracts. Near the latter place there are red granite rocks, with rude drawings and cuttings of animals now foreign to the country. Another rapid is passed at the island of Uss, and farther down the river banks rise to a height of 100 feet. The next place of note is Kirbekan, where our troops were victorious against the enemy in 1885. Near to it rises a ridge of mountains whose summits are streaked with white. Afterwards the

rocky mountain of Boni becomes visible, and the island of Dulka, on which are the remains of a large town. The next rapid bears the name of Rakabet el Gemel, or "The Camel's Neck," and after passing through steep cliffs on either hand, the Nile is again smooth and calm till it reaches the Kabarti Cataract, and afterwards that of Umhabo. Below this point the river is broken up by innumerable islands, the chief of which are Tarai, Owli, and Edermeh, where the so-called Fourth Cataract begins, passing Hamdab, the last camp of the River Column in 1885. On the west bank is the Egyptian fort of Abu Dom, opposite are Merawi and Gebel Barkal, the ancient capital of Nepata, where pyramids and sphinxes are found, and also extensive ruins. Several pyramids are also visible at Nuri, a few miles farther up on the opposite bank.

The river now flows through the country of the Shaikiyeh Arabs, who were renowned for their celebrated breed of horses and their daring in time of war. This ancient tribe suffered greatly at the hands of Mohammed Ali, and their horses were nearly all killed. They speak very poor Arabic. The banks of the Nile and the islands from Merawi are rich in vegetation.

The river takes a northward bend at Debbeh, passing through the ancient country of Bakhu, or "The Wonder," where ruins of temples and towns show signs of former civilisation. Old Dongola is the next point of interest, the Christian city which so long withstood the attacks of the Moslems. It is now half buried in sand and deserted. At Khandak there is a ruined castle and high-perched houses, after which New Dongola is reached. This town was founded by the Mamlûks in 1819, was destroyed by the Dervishes in 1885, and rebuilt on its re-occupation in 1896. Forty-five miles below is the Third Cataract, at Hannek. All along its course the river is dotted with green and fertile islands, of which the largest is Argo, quite 15 miles in length. Far to the east is the double crested mountain, Gebel Arambu, or Rambia, "The Chameleon." The sunlight on its particoloured formation gives the effect of changing tints. Just above the cataract is Abu Fatma, on a smooth reach of the river, where there was an important camp in 1885. This Third Cataract was the boundary of Ancient Egypt, which was marked at Dar Mabas by the Golden Stone of Rameses II. Remains of an unfinished statue are to be seen in the granite quarries to the east.

The rapids of Shaban make navigation very difficult. At the island of Faretti the river takes a wide sweep, and passes through the Kaiba Cataract amid wild and imposing scenery. Forty or fifty miles below, the temple of Soleb is seen, and

then the river flows past the island of Say, to Amara, where there is another temple. Willows grow in this region, and hippopotami have reappeared. The Cataract of Dal is one of the most dangerous; after this the river makes a sharp bend and flows through rocky banks into smooth water at Akasha. Farther down, the island of Tangour divides the Nile into two streams, and more rapids follow till the ancient forts of Semneh on the west, and Kummeh on the east bank, are arrived at. Semneh stands on a lonely rock projecting far into the river; a rapid cataract surges below, and rocky islets dot the stream, and on each side are steep cliffs crowned with ruined temples and fortresses. Sarras, on the east bank, stands on a very high rocky hill. It was our advanced camp previous to the advance on Dongola, and is some 30 miles south of Wady Halfa. Between Sarras and Wady Halfa is the Second Cataract, a long series of whirling rapids. Midway on the west bank stands the hill of Abusir, the goal of many travellers, and where numbers of illustrious names are inscribed on the face of the rock. Wady Halfa stands in 23° N. lat.

Few travellers follow the course of the river, as the journey from this point to Khartûm is now so easily accomplished by railway. All the hardships and dangers of crossing this terrible desert, where so many men and camels have perished, is now at an end. Instead of the long weary toil over the waterless waste, the distance can now be accomplished in a short transit of about 30 hours. During the scorching heat of the day, beautiful mirages, resembling vast lakes of sparkling water with islands and palm groves, appear only to vanish as the train approaches. A moonlit night again changes the scene, and the silvery rays shining on the desert sand effect a contrast so wonderful that no words can describe it.

For the next 200 miles the river glides through banks and deserts of golden sand, with granite, sandstone, and basalt rocks of varied colours. Small villages stand here and there, the only town of importance being Korosko, where the desert route from Abu Hamed again reaches the Nile. Every few miles an ancient temple or ruin is seen on either bank, but principally on the western; among them, Abu Simbel, where the four wonderful colossi appear carved in the mountain-side, Amada, Sabua, Dakkeh, Kalabsheh, Kertasse, and Dabod. Some of these buildings stand on rocky heights above the river, surrounded by groves of palm trees, forming exquisite pictures, and some beside its shores, now unfortunately partly submerged, owing to the raising of the water-level.

The First Cataract, which is 7 miles in length, lies between the

island of Philæ[1] and the town of Aswân, where the great dam now crosses the Nile.[2] The rapid here used to be extremely dangerous, as the water rushed through a very narrow passage between huge boulders of black basalt, and it was difficult to steer large vessels so as to avoid the rocks and turns in the swift current. Small native craft used another channel on the western side. Ascending the cataracts was a work of even greater difficulty: the boats were dragged up by men, who hauled them with ropes, screaming and yelling wildly all the time. It is seen on ancient monuments that the boats were pulled up the cataracts and steered down with lowered masts in exactly this same manner. The natives also shot the rapids on logs and in small boats, rowing with all their might and singing wild songs as they rushed through the water.

Near the First Cataract are many islands beside the well-known one of Philæ, crowned with its beautiful temple. Schei is remarkable for having several rock inscriptions of the XII Dynasty; Bigeh, which contains Ptolemaic remains; and El Hesseh, where there are many tombs still unexamined, and now under water.

The first town below this cataract is Aswân, 24° 5′ 25″ N. lat., the ancient Syene,[3] the "Gate of Upper Egypt," celebrated for its Syenite quarries of red granite; it is situated opposite the beautiful palm-covered island of Elephantine. This Greek name is derived from the hieroglyphic ideograph of an elephant, with which its ancient name Abû was written. Ivory was brought here for exchange by the Southern tribes. The river from this point varies from 350 yards to ⅔ of a mile in width. The cultivated land on either side in some places is a mere strip, and in others reaches inland for some distance, though nowhere above Cairo is it more than 10 miles wide. Beyond the line marking the limit of the water during the inundations there is absolutely no vegetation, only an occasional desert plant struggles through the sand: all is sunburnt, arid, and bare. On the eastern side is the Arabian Desert; on the western the Libyan, ending in the boundless Sahara. The Nile passes through its narrowest channel at Gebel Silsileh, where sandstone has taken the place of granite, and where ancient quarries are still to be seen.

Descending the Nile, the first temple passed below Aswân is Kom Ombo, standing high above the river on a very commanding position; it is a beautiful building, entirely excavated of late years. Twenty-five miles lower on the west bank is the great

[1] This Greek name may be derived from the ancient one, Pilak.
[2] See pp. 357–359.
[3] Ezekiel xxix. 10, "Tower of Syene."

Ptolemaic temple of Edfu, one of the most perfect remaining in Egypt; and on the opposite bank, 13 miles lower down, the walls of the ancient town of El Kab are distinctly seen from the river; around it several XIII and early XVIII Dynasty tombs have been found. The sandstone here is replaced by limestone in the mountain range of Sheroneh. Farther down on the west bank is Esneh (Latopolis), a picturesque town with minarets; the houses are built round the fine temple dating from the XVIII Dynasty, with hieroglyphic carvings on the walls, some as late as Roman times. The river becomes very rapid as it passes below the cliffs of Gebelên, near Erment (Hermonthis), whose beautiful temple was demolished between 1861 and 1863 to build a sugar factory. Eight miles above Thebes there is a reach of low land, and though so far north of the Equator, from the eastern shore the Southern Cross can be well seen in the month of March. The mountains here recede from both banks, and the great plain of Thebes lies between. The cultivated land at this point is very extensive. It is most fertile, and many crops are raised. Here stand the wonderful temples of Luxor and Karnak on the eastern side, and on the western Medinet Habu, the Ramesseum, Dêr el Bahari, besides many other buildings, and the mountains in which are placed the tombs of the kings and queens, the Biban el Mûluk, the Assasif, and the Sheikh Abd el Kurneh. A short distance above Thebes, 133 miles from Aswân, on the west bank, are the ancient Neqada and Ballas.

From Thebes to Cairo is 450 miles. At about 20 and 40 miles below, Kûft and Keneh are passed, the two starting-points of the great caravan routes to Hammamat and the Red Sea, used from time immemorial to the present day. The Ababdeh and Bisharin tribes convey caravans across the desert. Both are friendly to Europeans, and train camels for the use of the army. The dromedaries bred by the Bisharin are famous; they have a large encampment at Aswân, and are the descendants of the ancient Blemmyes. Opposite Keneh, two miles inland, stands the temple and site of Ta-en-ta-rer, called by the Greeks Tentyris, and now Dendera. Half-way between Keneh and the picturesque town of Girgeh, the railway from Cairo to Aswân is carried over the Nile on a fine bridge at Naga Hamadi; a portion of the bridge opens to allow vessels to pass through. On the same side, 60 miles lower down, 8 miles from Belianah, on the edge of the desert, are the remains of the temple of Abydos, the ancient Abdu, one of the most sacred of the cities of the Egyptians, the mythical burial-place of the god Osiris, and the home of the earliest dynasties of kings. Abydos is the farthest

north of the great temples still standing, though remains of others have been found at Akhmîm (Khemmis, or Panopolis), and at Tell el Amarna, and elsewhere. The great monuments of the Lower Nile are its tombs, the best known being at El Bersheh and Beni Hasan, about 300 miles below Thebes on the east bank, and at Asyût on the west; but at almost every turn, and near many of the towns, an ancient necropolis can be found. To the west of Sohag stand the buildings called the "Red and White" convents, and a little below, on the right bank, rise the heights of the Gebel Shêkh Haridi. Beyond lies Kau el Kebîr (Antæpolis), called in Egyptian "Taku," or "The Town of the Lofty Mountain." Siut, or Asyût, the ancient Pa Anub, or town of Anubis (Lycopolis), is a flourishing place, with mosques and bazaars, where a busy trade is carried on. Here a second "barrage," or dam, has been recently built, and has already proved of enormous value in regulating the irrigation. The river now makes some picturesque bends, and passes below the lofty Gebel Abu Feda, where storms are very frequent. Farther on, the scenery varies but little, the majestic river flowing silently and calmly on between its banks of sand, mud, and limestone rock, past villages built of mud, palm groves, and cultivated fields, and the modern towns of Roda (beyond which lie the mounds of Khemenu, or Hermopolis), Minyeh, and Benisuef. The range of the Gebel el Têr here forms the eastern bank for some distance, below which the land gradually becomes more and more level. Wasta, whence the railway branches to the Fayûm, is 57 miles south of Cairo. On the left bank, at El Mandara, a branch stream flows out of the Nile, and although it is first mentioned by Saladin, who gave it its present name of Bahr Yusuf, it has evidently always existed. After running parallel with the Nile for some distance, it turns off through a break in the western hills and loses itself, after a course of 207 miles, in a deep depression in the desert. Here from time immemorial it deposited its mud and formed a marshy oasis, about 30 by 40 miles in extent. Under various rulers[1] this marsh was drained, and the fertile province of the Fayûm brought into existence. The remains of the great irrigation works of the past may be traced in the present Birket Karûn, or Lake of the Fayûm, which lies 130 feet below sea-level. The water from the Bahr Yusuf is still employed for cultivating the land, which is very rich, and yields splendid crops and abundance of fruit and flowers; the latter are here so remarkable that this province is called "The Land of Roses."

There are many historical remains at Hawara, Illahûn, the

[1] See page 118.

A GREY DAY ON THE NILE

ancient Reheni or Leheni, or "Mouth of the Canal," and also at Gurob. The chief town Medinet el Fayûm, is a large place of 34,500 inhabitants, possessing a beautiful mosque built by Kait Bey on a bridge over one of the numerous streams which intersect the district.

In ancient times the Fayûm formed the Shedet, or Crocodile nome, and in Ptolemaic days the Arsinoite. The Fayûm is really an oasis, of which there are several others scattered in the deserts surrounding the Nile Valley, where the existence of wells of water has enabled the wandering Bedawin to settle and cultivate the soil. Of these oases, the larger are Khargeh, Dakhieh, and Sîweh, which have always been more or less under the rule and shared the varying vicissitudes of Egypt.

Below Wasta, the very early pyramid of Medûm is a conspicuous object on the west bank of the Nile; and descending still farther, behind the palm groves of Bedrashên, which conceal the mounds and hide the secrets of the once famous Memphis, lie those of Dahshûr and Sakkara, while on drawing still nearer to Cairo the great pyramids of Gizeh come into view.

At length the river reaches Cairo, which lies along the eastern bank, and is dominated by its beautiful citadel and backed by the Mokattam Hills.

Asyût, 247 miles above Cairo, is the northern limit of Upper Egypt; below that lies Middle Egypt, and beyond Cairo is Lower Egypt, called the Delta, which name is given from its resemblance to the Greek letter D (Δ), the point of the triangle being at Cairo and the base the Mediterranean Sea. About 12 miles below Cairo the Nile passes through the great "barrage," or sluice, which regulates the flow of water in the Delta. It was begun by Mohammed Ali in 1835, designed by Mougel, but was not completed till 1862. It was found to be so imperfect that it had to be reconstructed in 1884 by Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff. It cost about £2,000,000 to build, and requires £20,000 a year to keep in repair. There are 132 arches, which can be opened or closed to irrigate the land as needed. The central channel controls the irrigation. Through the others pass the two great branches of the Nile, the Tanitic to Damietta, the Bolbitinic to Rosetta, now the only remaining outlets.[1]

Virgil, in his Fourth Book of the *Æneid*, Herodotus, Pliny, Ovid, and others, all mention the seven mouths of the Nile. Strabo, 24 B.C., also speaks of the seven mouths, and names them:

[1] See page 18.

1. The Canopic, the most westerly, which flows into the Bay of Abûkir; 2. The Bolbitine, at Rosetta; 3. The Sebennytic, flowing from Lake Burlus; 4. The Phatnitic, at Damietta; 5. The Mendesian, close to Dibeh; 6. The Tanitic, near the large lake and town of Tanis; 7. The Pelusiac, near the town of Pelusium, which lies about 20 stadia from the sea.

Strabo adds that "there are now but two large mouths, five small, and others very small." John Wansleb, 1677–98, writes that there are only three—at Damietta, Rosetta, and the third half-way between Alexandria and Rosetta, called Mahmoudyieh; and Alexander Primus of Venice, in 1688–94, wrote that besides the Damietta and Rosetta, only two other mouths remain, the Canopic and Pelusiac. These have long been useless, owing to the silting of sand and mud. The Damietta branch, of the two still existing, is the larger, but the town at its mouth is no longer the centre of commerce as it used to be; nor is Rosetta much more prosperous, as nearly all trade is now carried to Alexandria. The fresh-water canal, called the Mahmudiyeh, which connects the Rosetta branch with Alexandria, was constructed by Mohammed Ali in 1819, and all traffic was conveyed by it to Cairo until the railway was made in 1855. It partly follows the old channel of the Canopic branch.

There are four large lakes within the Delta which are fed by tributaries from the Nile, but the country around them is so swampy and unhealthy that it is little known. Lake Menzaleh lies between Damietta and Port Said. To the east of Rosetta is Lake Burlus. To the west are Lake Edku and Lake Mareotis, by the shores of which latter the railway passes from Alexandria to Cairo. Many varieties of water-birds are to be seen as the trains go by, quietly feeding and preening their feathers, among which the rose-winged flamingoes, white storks, and pelicans are the most numerous.

There is a greater extent of cultivation in the Delta than in all the rest of Egypt. The soil throughout the whole country is very rich, and most of the natives grow Indian corn, lentils, rice, and other grains; there are also fields of clover on which animals are fed. Sugar-cane is largely cultivated in Upper Egypt, and also in the Delta, and the cotton produce there adds a valuable and increasing revenue to the State. The Delta is thickly populated; villages are scattered over it, and its chief towns are Tanta, Zagazig, Kafr ez Zayat, and Ismailiyeh, which are united by a system of railways, and have important markets and fairs. Along the shore of the Mediterranean, a very poor tribe, the Terabîn Arabs, are met with, who subsist on shell-

fish and goats' milk. Other nomadic tribes visit the Delta, such as the Hanaardi and the Howayat from the desert of Suez.

The land of Goshen, now called the Wady Tumilat, lies to the north-east of the Delta, about 30 miles east of Tanis. It is still a very fertile spot—"the best of the land." The great caravan road to Palestine crosses a narrow strip of water at the southern end of Lake Menzaleh: it is called Kantara, or "Bridge." Doubtless it was by this road that the Children of Israel entered Egypt, and found the land given to Joseph for them by the Pharaoh, whose capital was Zoan or Tanis.

The yearly inundation of the Nile is the great event most anxiously looked for by the people of Egypt. It is caused by heavy rains in the mountains of Abyssinia, which swell the river till it overflows its banks. The rising begins in June, but it is not until September that the inundation has reached its height. It fills the many canals and reservoirs which have been made to receive and store it, the chief of which are the Bahr Yusuf,[1] and its extension, called the Ibrahimiyeh Canal, at Asyût. After gradually depositing its fertilising mud over the soil along its shores, the Nile falls again, and by December and January the land reappears, and the natives immediately begin to cultivate it. They may be seen swimming across to the little islands of mud as they become visible, and at once sow their seeds, which ripen and are ready for harvest in March or April.

On the island of Roda, near Cairo, is a square well, in the centre of which is an octagonal column called the Nilometer. The original one was erected in 716 A.D. by order of Osama-ibn-Zeyd,[2] and a second in 861, of which the foundations still exist. This column is divided into 17 cubits, of about 21 inches each. The well is connected with the Nile by a narrow channel, and, as the river rises, the height to which the water reaches is marked upon the column. The usual rise is from 24 to 26 feet. Should it exceed this limit, the natives fear for their property and lives; and if it does not reach the proper height, the canals are not filled, and there is a scarcity of water throughout the land. The keeper of the Nilometer finds out each day how far the water has risen, and calls the news through the streets of Cairo. As soon as the crier proclaims the "Wafa en Nil," meaning that the water has reached the proper level, the Khedive and all the officers of state proceed to a place near the village of Helwân, with crowds of people and bands of music; a portion of the Koran

[1] See page 271.

[2] See page 245.

is read by the chief Sheikh, after which the Khedive cuts the first sod to allow the river to flow into the Great Canal.

In ancient days it was customary to lead a young girl, richly dressed as a bride, to the edge of the water with great pomp and ceremony. Her fate, however, was a sad one, as she was thrown into the river, and this was called "The Marriage of the Bride of the Nile."[1] Happily, it is a very long time since this barbarous custom took place.

Traces of earlier Nilometers have been found; one being at Elephantine. The marks on this prove that a higher Nile is needed in the present day than was required formerly, owing to the yearly deposit of alluvial soil having raised the level of the country. In the chronicles of the ancient Empire preserved in the Palermo Stone, beneath each entry of a special year of the various kings' reigns, signs are placed which indicate the height to which the Nile rose in that particular year. As these measurements are in ells, spans, and digits, they are evidently the sum of the quantity of the rise of the river above or below a certain mean height, which is not now known.

For the Nile to have formed its present bed must have been the work of thousands of centuries. The high desert plateau on either bank, and the water-worn débris and regular step formation of the rocks, clearly point to this fact. In some places there have been great "faults," caused by convulsions of nature which have left huge gaps and valleys in the hills.

The geology of Egypt is very interesting. Great varieties of formation exist, but the tertiary or fossiliferous limestone is the most common. On the western side this stratum is almost unbroken as far as Alexandria, only a few ridges of sandstone appearing here and there. On the eastern or Arabian side the country is rich in endless formations of crystalline rocks, granite, and porphyry.[2] In the Gebel Akhmar, in the Mokattam Hills behind Cairo, there is a vein of very hard miocene quartzite, which can only be worked by diamond drills; and alabaster (arragonite) is found at Beni Suêf, Het-Nub, and elsewhere. The emerald and copper mines lie in the mountains between the Nile and the Red Sea, which rise at Hammamat to a height of 6000 feet. Gold has been discovered in the Wady Gabat and the Wady Alaki on the Red Sea, and due east from Aswân remains of ancient workings have been found. The Alykat tribe were the former inhabitants of that district.[3]

[1] A story with this title was written by Miss Fountaine of Narford (the late Mrs. Tyssen Amherst), and published in the *Literary Souvenir*, 1832; and another story by Ebers is founded on the same theme.

[2] Sir W. Dawson, *Victoria Inst.* vol. xxvi. p. 274.

[3] See page 145.

There are curious remains near Cairo of a petrified forest, where portions of trees have been found measuring 60 to 90 feet in length and 3 feet in diameter. It is said to have been formed by a deposit of sand and water which in the course of ages silicified the wood. But although there is little doubt that primeval forests existed in Egypt, they must have disappeared at a very early date, as no special mention of them occurs, either in the oldest monuments or writings.

But few trees have been added to the small list of those known in ancient times. One of these, the "lebbek" (*Albezzia lebbek*), has been most successfully introduced from India. It is a large mimosa, with dense foliage and of very rapid growth. The commonest of all trees in Egypt is the date-palm; the graceful groves of these trees add to the beauty of every point in the landscape of the Nile Valley. In Upper Egypt the "dôm" palm is much grown. Orchard-like plantations of "sont" trees (*Acacia nilotica*), which produce gum arabic, are found surrounding most of the villages. Tamarisks grow beside the water-wheels, and here and there large sycamores (*Ficus sycamorus*) give a welcome shade. Fruit trees, except the orange, hardly repay cultivation, though in the Fayûm, figs, peaches, and apricots are extensively grown, and even the olive flourishes. There is a large flora of small flowers in the Delta, the ground near Lake Mareotis in March being covered with masses of yellow daisies, poppies, asphodel, iris, and ranunculus. At certain times of the year also many kinds of minute desert flowers may be found in the Wadys, but wild flowers are not numerous in Egypt.[1]

The fauna of Egypt is not extensive. Of the larger animals which were apparently at one time numerous, there are now none to be found, with the exception of the hyena, the wild boar, and the Egyptian wolf. There are different varieties of foxes and jackals, and ibex and gazelle in the desert. Among the domestic animals are the camel, buffalo, and fine donkeys, brown sheep, long-eared goats, and horned goats similar to those on the monuments. The wild cat is supposed to be the direct ancestor of our domestic cat. Pariah dogs abound in all the villages; they act as guardians, and are sometimes very savage and will attack strangers. The jerboa, which lives in holes in the sand, is a most interesting little creature; and the large-eared desert hare, represented in the hieroglyphic sign "un," is not uncommon. Rats also abound. The ichneumon is useful in waging war against snakes. Of the latter there are about twenty kinds, of which the most poisonous are the

[1] For an account of the ancient flora, see articles by Newberry in Petrie's *Hawara*, page 46; *Illahûn*, page 46.

hooded snake or cobra, the ancient emblem of royalty, and the horned viper, or cerastes. Of other reptiles there are many different kinds — lizards and chameleons, frogs and toads. Crocodiles, once so common, have disappeared from below the First Cataract. Several varieties of bats are found, and infest many of the tombs; one is peculiar to Egypt.

There are many species of birds, 350 having been identified by Shelley.[1] The larger birds, such as vultures, eagles, and hawks, are in considerable numbers, the griffin vulture and the spotted eagle being most frequently seen. Sparrow-hawks, kestrels, and merlins are very common. The kite and grey crow are seen everywhere; they are invaluable as scavengers. There are quantities of larks, swallows, wagtails, chats, finches, and other song-birds. The pied and the common kingfishers, the handsome hoopoe with golden crest, the blue roller crow, and three kinds of bee-eaters, and the golden oriole, are the most brilliant in plumage. There are pelicans, storks, cranes, spoon-bills, herons, flamingoes, geese, and many kinds of waders and ducks too numerous to mention. The indiscriminate way in which "sportsmen" shoot these birds is deplorable; varieties once common are becoming rare, and some species have disappeared entirely. Even the gentle little palm dove, being somewhat of a delicacy, is ruthlessly shot; quails when passing through on their migratory flight afford good sport. The crocodile bird (*Pluvianus ægyptica*) was said to sit in the mouth of the crocodile, but as crocodiles so rarely appear below the Second Cataract this statement cannot now be vouched for.

From 70 to 80 kinds of fish are found in the Nile, but many of them are scarcely fit for food, although the natives eat them. Their flesh is soft and tasteless. The "bayad," a huge fish with long barbels, is the most palatable; it abounds in the cataract. There are varieties of perch and carp, which give some sport to the fisherman. Statistics in fisheries are being returned to the Government by Mr. Loat, 13 new species having been already found.

There are many sorts of insects. Beetles are common, but it is not possible to determine which of those now found was the famous scarabæus of the ancients. There are few butterflies or moths. Bees, wasps, hornets, grasshoppers, ants, and many kinds of mosquitoes swarm, and flies and other unpleasant insects are a well-known plague. Large poisonous spiders, centipedes, and scorpions are numerous.

The climate of Egypt in winter is almost unrivalled, com-

[1] G. E. Shelley, *Birds of Egypt*.

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A BEND OF THE NILE.

bining as it does the dryness and warmth of the desert tempered with cool north breezes from the Mediterranean. The heat in summer is intense, the average temperature being 95° Fahr. in Lower Egypt, while it sometimes rises to 122° in the shade in Upper Egypt. This heat is not unbearable, on account of the dryness of the atmosphere, for even during the inundation there is but little moisture in the air. Only when the Khamsîn (or fifty days' wind) is blowing, laden with sand from the south-west, does it become oppressive. The lowest temperature in the Delta is 41° in winter, while in Upper Egypt the average is 66°. Though heavy showers occasionally fall, a "wet day" is almost unknown, and even in winter, months of uninterrupted sunshine are enjoyed. "Winter" and "Summer," in fact, are words of little significance, the seasons really being those of "Low Nile" and "Inundation."

But though Egypt possesses unique physical conditions and many natural beauties well worthy of study, the chief interest lies in the history of the various races who have dwelt in the valley of the Nile.

CHAPTER II

PART I.—THE ANCIENT PEOPLE

"He knew the various modes of ancient times,
Their arts and fashions of each different guise,
Their weddings, funerals, punishment for crimes,
Their strength, their learning eke and rareties
Of old habiliments, each sort and size,
Male, female, high and low, to him were known."
MARK AKENSIDE: *The Virtuoso.*

VERY early traces of man have been found in Egypt. The presence of worked flints and rude stone implements, discovered by Petrie in 1895 on the high desert plateau near Naqada, show that palæolithic man hunted there before the period of Nile deposits.[1]

Besides these, recent excavations have resulted in the discovery of burials of persons with their limbs drawn up, lying on their side, with the head generally turned to the south, and similar in position to those found in prehistoric burials in other countries. Flint implements of careful workmanship, pottery both incised and painted, slate palettes, beads, toys, and other objects, were discovered in the graves, and show an advanced state of civilisation scarcely in keeping with this primitive form of burial. These people were at first named "The New Race," as difficulty was found in placing them. It is now considered that they were pre-dynastic, and belonged to a Libyan race who probably were settled in the Nile Valley possibly as early as 7000 B.C. In general character they are found to correspond most nearly to the early races of Northern Africa. According to Petrie, this race bears also a marked likeness to the Amorites, and from the pottery found in their tombs it appears probable that they are akin to the nations who migrated from some point on the Mediterranean to Syria and Egypt. This primitive element has been strongly marked through-

[1] Similar discoveries were made on the plateau above the Valley of the Kings by Lenormant and Hamy in 1869.

out Egyptian history, and during the Dynasties there has been a constant mingling of races, as may be seen from the varied types of features on the monuments. Careful research seems to point out that these people inhabited parts of the Thebaid, and that they occupied that district to the exclusion of the conquering dynastic Egyptians even as late as the VII, VIII, and XI Dynasties 3300 B.C. Who then were these conquering Egyptians? They are said to have sprung from four great races—the "Kushites" of the south, the "Amu" of the north, the "Tamahu" of the west, and the "Shasu" of the east, the colour of their skins being either black, white, copper-coloured, or yellow. In manners, customs, and language, however, the dynastic Egyptians bear a far greater resemblance to the Eastern or Asiatic nations than to any other, therefore the conclusion to be drawn is, that they came from some part of Central Asia, either by the Isthmus of Suez or by the Red Sea to the valley of the Nile, possibly by the Wady Hammamat, to Koptos.

They were evidently further advanced in civilisation than the aboriginal inhabitants, and possessed a knowledge of writing and of the use of metals, and brought with them the custom of embalming their dead. The earliest remains of the dynastic Egyptians yet found are their tombs. The modern Copts are considered to be their direct descendants. Their name has been derived by some from Ægyptos, a transformation of the sacred name of "Memphis," Ha-ka-ptah (Higuptah in the Tell el Amarna tablets), applied by the Greeks to the whole country of Egypt, formerly known as Kam, or Kemi, "The Black Land." Others consider the word Copt to have come from the name of the town of Koptos—Kubti in the Egyptian form, Kuft in the Arabic. This place was so well known as a trading centre to the Eastern merchants, that it seems a very plausible theory that they used this name as a general term for the inhabitants of the whole country. Another strange form of burial seems to have existed in Egypt at the time of the immigration of this race from the East. Bodies have been found with the head severed, and the other members cut up into fragments and placed in different parts of the grave. This custom was held in horror by the more civilised dynastic Egyptians, and seems to have had some strange connection with the myth of Osiris, referred to in the 42nd and 43rd chapters of the Book of the Dead. A theory exists that Osiris was the very first king of Egypt, and that the myth of his body being divided in pieces might mean the division of the land into nomes.

Five thousand years of consecutive history, drawn from monuments, papyri, legal documents, private letters, and early historians, together with the various articles discovered in their burial-places, give us a comprehensive idea of the life of the ancient Egyptians, which varied but little during the long period of their history. The very earliest of these records are found in tombs of kings, thus proving that Egypt was always reigned over by a king, whom the people looked up to and reverenced as a god. He was given various titles and names. In writings, his own name, or prenomen, is, from the very earliest times, placed in a circle called a cartouche, which was probably meant to represent a signet. By some it is thought to refer to the king's dominion extending throughout the "shenu," or sun's orbit, and to have been inserted to keep the king's name apart, as it was considered sacred. Above this circle were placed the signs "Sa Ra," or "Son of Ra" (the Sun God), to show the king's descent from the gods. The king's throne-name, assumed on his accession, was also enclosed in a cartouche, preceded by the signs "Suten byty," signifying the "King of the Two Countries." "Byty" is the sign of Lower Egypt; it occurs in the oldest writings, and is thought to be of Libyan origin, and connected with the name of Battus, a king of that country. To these were often added the so-called Horus titles, and that preceded by the "Nebti" signs, the "Uazyt," or uræus, of the north, and the "Nekhebyt," or vulture, of the south, to typify the dominion over the two lands. The well-known title of Pharaoh is derived from the Egyptian word "Per-aa," or Great House, meaning the palace, and was applied to the king as being the chief dweller in the palace. The king was invested with the "Pschent," or "Sekhemet," the double crown — the white of Upper Egypt (Hez), and the red of Lower Egypt (Deshert). The dress of the king differed but little from that of his subjects, the addition of a lion's tail, which hung down behind, being the distinguishing feature. All wore alike a girdle and a skirt of matting. As time went on, these primitive costumes gave place to the magnificent robes shown in the paintings of the XVIII and later Dynasties. The king was allowed but one chief wife. The queen was of royal birth and equal rank with her husband. Marriage with a sister was of common occurrence, especially in the royal families, the direct descent to the throne often going through the female line. The queen's head-dress was in the form of a vulture whose folded wings encircled her head, which was surmounted by "Ma," the feather of truth and the horns of Hathor; and her dress consisted of transparent material falling in pleats from the shoulder.

She wore necklaces and bracelets, many of those found being of rare value and beautiful workmanship; and she is often shown standing by the king holding a sistrum (a small metal instrument on the bars of which rings are strung), which, when shaken, produce a jangling sound, supposed to frighten evil spirits.[1]

The king's councillors assembled in the outer court of the palace, and audiences were held. The inner portion was the king's private dwelling, to which only his near relations and those employed about his person had access. Great ceremony was observed, and those who entered the royal presence made deep obeisance and kissed the ground. The queen had her separate house, where she lived with her ladies, generally in seclusion, only appearing at the Court on great occasions. Both establishments were kept up with much state, having endless office-bearers and servants in attendance. It was the duty of the slaves to amuse their royal master and mistress with singing, recitations, music, and dancing. The members of the household bore numerous titles, and superintended all departments of the palace. Amongst these were the "Wigmakers," "Fanbearers," the "Keepers of the Clothes of the King," "Superintendents of the Crown Jewels," and "Keepers of the Great Throne," used by the king on State ceremonials. The nurses of the king or queen were always favoured persons, and had charge of the young princes and princesses. The tutor, who was also called "nurse," held high rank, and the king often permitted him to educate other boys with the princes. These were sometimes allowed to marry royal ladies, were given special offices about the Court, and lived in the palace. The harîm then, as now, had its own attendants, who enforced the seclusion of the inmates, and arranged their household details.

The government of the country was divided into several sections, each under its separate head, who was responsible to the king as supreme ruler. These included the Privy Councillors, Chiefs of Treasuries, Granaries, Fisheries, and other departments; Lords of Justice, War, Revenue, Sacrificial and Provision Houses, with endless titles and functions, and several of these offices were sometimes centred in one person. The country was divided usually into 42 provinces or nomes, called "sepat," each having its capital, its governor—in later times called "Nomarch"—and high priests of the temples of its gods. These offices appear to have been hereditary, and generally belonged to the wealthiest and most important landowners of the province or township. Every chief had assistants to carry

[1] Benson and Gourlay, *Temple of Mut.*

on the local government and the service of the temples, each possessing high-sounding titles expressive of their various duties. In every department throughout Egypt there appears to have been a twofold division, that of the north and of the south—the south being the principal, for, under the Old and Middle Empire, Upper Egypt was by far the most valuable portion of the land.

UPPER EGYPT.

Nome.	Capital.	Greek.	Modern.	Titular Divinity.
I. Ta-khent .	Abu	Elephantine	Aswân	Khnem
II. Uthes-Hor	Tebu	Apollonopolis	Edfu	Horus
III. Ten . .	Nekheb	Eileithyia-polis	El Kab	Nekhebyt
IV. Uas . .	Apt	Hermonthis	Karnak	Amen
V. Herui .	Qebti	Koptos	Kuft	Min
VI. Aatte .	Ta-en-ta-rer	Tentyris	Dendera	Hathor
VII. Seshesht .	Het-seshesht	Diospolis Parva	Hû	Hathor
VIII. Abez .	Teni	Abydos	Girgeh	Anher
IX. Min . .	Apu	Panopolis	Akhmîm	Min
X. Uazet .	Thebu	Aphrodito-polis	Itfu	Hathor
XI. Set . .	Shashetep	Hypselis	Shutb	Khnem
XII. Tu-ef .	Nut-ent-bak	Hieraconpolis	Kau-el-Kebîr	Horus
XIII. Atef-khent	Saut	Lycopolis	Asŷût	Upuat
XIV. Atef-peh .	Qesi	Cusæ	Kuslyeh	Hathor
XV. Unt . .	Khemnu	Hermopolis	Eshmunên	Thoth
XVI. Mahez .	Hebnu	Hieraconpolis	Kom-el-Ahmar	Khnem
XVII. Anpu .	Kasa	Cynopolis	El-Kais	Anubis
XVIII. Sep . .	Het-bennu	Hipponon	El-Hîbeh	Anubis
XIX. Uaseb .	Per Maza	Oxyrhyncus	Behneseh	Set
XX. Am-khent	Henen-seten	Heracleo-polis Magna	Ahnas-el-Medîneh	Her-she-ef
XXI. Am-peh .	Smenhor		Ashment (?)	Khnem
XXII. Matenu .	Tep-ah	Aphrodito-polis	Atfih	Hathor

The service of the temples and sacrificial offerings were all under the immediate superintendence of the king in earliest times, but the priesthood increased in power and became a formidable element in the days of the Empire. At times these princes rose to great power, often becoming almost independent of the Pharaoh. They play an important part in the history of Egypt, and their tombs at the various towns which were the capitals of their provinces are of the greatest interest. The highest office in the kingdom was that of Zat, or Prime Minister, and was often held by an "Erpa Ha," hereditary prince, or

a relative of the king.[1] Next in rank came the Lord High Treasurer, whose duty was to collect and value "all precious things that are given by Heaven, or brought forth by the earth, or brought down by the river"; perfumes from the Incense Countries; minerals from the mountains, and costly blocks from the quarries." These officers bore the proud title of "Friends of the King."

LOWER EGYPT.

Nome.	Capital.	Greek.	Modern.	Titular Divinity.
I. Anb-hez	Men-nefer	Memphis	Tell Monf	Ptah
II. Khensu (?)	Sekhem	Letopolis	Wisim	Hor-ur
III. Ament	Amu		Kom-el-Hisn	Hathor
IV. Sap-qema	Zeqa	Prosopis		Sebek
V. Sap-meh	Sau	Sais	Sâ-el-Hagar	Neith
VI. Ka-khaset	Khasuu	Xois	Sakhâ	Ra
VII. Nefer-amenti	Senti-nefer	Metelis	Fueh	Amen-Ra
VIII. Nefer-abti	Per-tum	Hero-opolis	Tell-el-Maskhûteh	Tum
IX. Aty	Per-Usar-neb-tet	Busiris	Abusir	Osiris
X. Ka-kem	Het-ta-her-ab	Athribis	Tell-Atrîb	Horus "Khenti-Kheti"
XI. Ka-heseb	Per-maka	Cabasa	Shabbas	Set
XII. Theb-aht	Theb-neter	Sebennytus	Semennûd	Anher
XIII. Heqa-ames	Anu (On)	Heliopolis	Tell Hisn	Tum
XIV. Khent-abt	Zaru	Sethröe	Tell Belun	Horus
XV. Tekh (?)	Khemenu	Hermopolis	Tell Billeh	Thoth
XVI. Ha-mehŷt (?)	Per-ba-neb-tat	Mendes	Tell Tmai	Ba-en-tat
XVII. Sma-behtet	Pa-khen-en-Amen	Pachnamunis		Amen Ra
XVIII. Am-khent	Per-Bast	Bubastis	Tell Basta	Bast
XIX. Am-peh	Amt	Nebesheh	Takat-el-Faraun	Uazyt (Buto)
XX. Septu-kemhes (?)	Qesem Per-sopt	Phacusa	Saft-el-Henna	Sept

The Scribes were one of the most useful sections of the community. They held different degrees of rank, from the "Chief Scribe" of the king to the lower scribes, who were indispensable in every department, and without whom business could not be carried on. In courts of law, in all public offices, for all public records, in agricultural matters, and in every detail connected with the State, documents and lists were required. The scribes were considered very important, their profession frequently leading to high positions. They were trained in the "Instruction

[1] Newberry, *The Life of Rekhmara.*

House," which in the Old Empire was attached to the palace. In later times these schools became more numerous as each department of the State educated its own staff of workers. The scribe of the "House of Silver" seems to have had the repair of the king's palace with its decorations entrusted to him, and directs one of lower degree to "choose out acacia planks which are very long, broad, and beautiful," for the repair of the "Sacred Bark" from bow to stern. He also appointed gardeners to inspect the vineyards, seal up the wine in jars, and send a list of their contents to the king. Arrangements for the royal journeys and the commissariat for the household came under this department, and a few items on the list of articles required will show that the scribe had no easy task. "Sixteen thousand pieces of good bread, thirteen thousand of other bread, four thousand pieces of cake, a hundred baskets of dried meat, ninety jars of butter, a hundred wreaths of flowers to deck the wine-jars, several kinds of fruits, milk, geese, etc., hay for the horses, and two thousand blocks of wood for kitchen fuel." The documents of the scribes were written on papyrus, and were commonly kept in sealed jars.

Courts of justice were usually presided over by the governor of the town or nome, assisted by the chief scribe. The judge wore the image or feather of the goddess Maat as an emblem of truth, suspended round his neck by a gold chain.[1] The title "Ta," or "Chief Justice," meaning "The Man at the Door," has the same character as that of Pharaoh, and signifies "The Gate of Justice," which recalls the Eastern custom of trying cases at the "Gate of the City." Very minute details were entered into, both in civil and criminal law. Questions connected with personal property, landed estates, boundaries and contracts, murders, petty offences, and robberies were decided by these Courts. The chief examples of the mode of inquiry into these matters are the well-known cases of the "Robbery of the Royal Tombs" in the time of Rameses IX., and the "Harîm Conspiracy" of Rameses III. In civil cases the plaintiff stated his case and the defendant answered. Both stood, while the Court remained seated. When sentence was pronounced, the loser had to declare his acquiescence in the verdict. In criminal cases, after sentence had been passed by the Court, it was left to the king to decide upon the punishment of the offender. Murder was punished by death, treachery by cutting out the tongue, forgery by the loss of a hand, and small offences by the bastinado.

Hereditary property was so strictly entailed, that even the

[1] See page 66.

king could not dispose of it as he wished, without making a formal contract, which had to be ratified by proper authorities.

Marriage was considered an important tie, though no actual religious ceremony is recorded, and the relations between husband and wife seem to have been most affectionate, as is proved by the titles often given to the wife—"Lady of the House," "Honoured by her husband," etc. A letter written by a bereaved husband mourns the death of his wife in touching terms—"I greatly mourn for thee with my people before my house;" and many such examples might be given, showing how highly a good wife was prized. Instances of polygamy were rare, but every house of importance had its harîm, or separate apartments for women and children. A picture on the walls of Tell el Amarna depicts the occupations and amusements of these women. One is playing on the harp, another holding a scroll and either reciting or singing, another cooking, and one dressing her companion's hair; all appear very happy and cheerful. Children were esteemed a great blessing, and the happy family groups represented in paintings and sculptures give a very vivid and pleasing picture of domestic life. Children were taught to respect their parents, and a father enjoins his son "never to forget what thy mother hath done for thee."

It was the wish of the father so to bring up his son that "he should sit in his chair after he was gone"; and the son's, that "he should make his father's name to live," and be worthy to perform the funeral rites at his tomb. It is very difficult to trace the genealogies of Egyptian families, as few go back farther than their great-grandfathers, and as there are no surnames, confusion often results. It was the fashion for parents to name a child after the reigning king, even being so loyal as to change the name on the accession of a new sovereign. Common names were usually descriptive of the child, such as "Strong," "Beautiful," "Little," "Good"; or after animals, as "Wild Lion," or "Daughter of the Crocodile," "Tom Cat," or "Kitten"; or after a favourite god, as "Servant of Ra," "Gift of Amen," etc.

Children were cared for by their mothers till they were three years old, and carried on the neck or suspended in shawls tied round her shoulders. They seldom had clothes till they went to the "House of Books." The boys wore a lock of hair on the right side of the head as a mark of youth, but at what age this was discontinued is uncertain. Education was very strictly enforced. The boy was told, "Give thy heart to learning, and love her like a mother, for there is nothing so precious as learning"; and "Spend no day in idleness, or thou wilt be

flogged." Good manners were very much insisted on, and respect for those who were older or superior in rank—"Never forget to be respectful, and do not sit down while another stands who is older than thou, or holds an office thou dost not." Writing was carefully taught, and many copybooks have been found in the tombs, some tidily written, some scribbled and adorned with childish pictures; the master's corrections usually being on the top of the page.[1]

Instruction was mostly given in the form of dictation of moral precepts and stories, and a curious correspondence has been found between master and pupils, showing that composition was taught very extensively.[2] Religious teaching included the "History of the Gods," supposed to be written by Thoth himself, the repetition of passages from the Book of the Dead, as well as magical texts or incantations of strange words in an unknown tongue. The learning of these by heart was supposed to keep off evil and to be of vital importance. They were used to secure propitious dreams, in which the Egyptians placed great faith, and frequently guided their actions according to the interpretation of them by the astrologers. These magic formulæ were used by physicians when visiting sick people and when mixing medicines, so as to exorcise the illness. The study of medicine was carried to a great extent in the colleges. The heart was considered the seat of life, and that vessels from it led to all members of the body. One account gives 12 such vessels, another more than 40. Free use was made of poultices and ointments, and many varieties of medicines were prescribed, mostly decoctions of herbs, and generally mixed with beer, but sometimes of too repulsive and disgusting a compound to particularise. The healing virtue of inhalation was not unknown, and we find directions for inhaling through a reed the steam from boiling herbs. The crying of infants was stilled by a preparation of the "shepen," or poppy. Surgical operations are not mentioned, though we know that the Egyptians must have possessed a certain amount of knowledge of that science, owing to the skill shown by them in preparing bodies for embalming. Judging by the numerous mummies found with fractured limbs, bone-setting seems to have been an unknown science.

In the Old Empire, mathematics were taught in the schools, and tables and books on the subject dating from a later period have been found. The study did not progress with the times, but remained as at first, primitive and somewhat complicated. There seemed to be no idea of fractions, and correct results

[1] *Select Papyri*, Brit. Mus. [2] *Ibid.*

were only obtained in the most roundabout way, so that to calculate the size of a granary to contain a given amount of corn was a work of labour. In geometry, progress was equally slow, and their reckoning of angles and measurements was very crude, but practical results were evidently achieved by some original method.

Astronomy was carefully studied in remote times, curious charts of the heavens being found in very early tombs, as well as minute astronomical calculations. In these a very important place was given to the dog-star "Sothis," or Sirius. The Egyptians reckoned their year from the heliacal rising of Sothis in the beginning of August, when it appears simultaneously with the sun. They divided it into 12 months of 30 days. These were called Thoth, Phaophi, Athyr, Khoiak, Tybi, Mekhir, Phamenoth, Pharmuthi, Pakhons, Payni, Epiphi, and Mesori, and each was presided over by a special god. They also divided the year into 3 seasons of 4 months, called the "Sha," waters, or inundations; the "Per," vegetation, or winter; and "Shemu," harvest, or summer. But as it was found that the civil year of 360 days measured by the moon did not correspond with the true solar year and the succession of the seasons, an arbitrary correction had at times to be made. The first alteration was the intercalation of 5 days (called epagomenal) at the end of the 12th month, which lessened the discrepancy very considerably. The year so found was called the "vague" year. But the extra 6 hours and a few minutes which go to make up the true solar year still remained a difficulty, which had to be adjusted at intervals by the king or priests. They discovered that the few hours omitted annually would amount to a whole year in a period of 1460 years, and that therefore 1460 true solar years equalled 1461 vague years. This period was called the Sothic cycle, and forms a basis for calculations of Egyptian chronology. It is thus seen that the Egyptians laid the foundation of our modern calendar. But it is not to be supposed that they dated by this calendar until quite late times. The only dating on monuments and tombs by which chronology is helped is the record of the particular year of the king's reign.

The Egyptians possessed much interesting literature, of which poetry formed an important part. The hymns to Ra, Amen, and Hapi, and that of Akhenaten to the Sun's Disk, are all beautiful specimens; and so, likewise, is the epic poem to King Rameses, known as the "Poem of Pentaur." There are also the "Song of the Harper," the "Song of the Shepherd," and many other lyric verses, containing love scenes and tender

allusions to birds and flowers, and the glories of Nature. All the story-books, "Precepts of Ptah-hetep," and Tales of Travel, that have come down to us, savour of romance, and are a strange medley of fact and fiction — fairies, magicians, and demons being mixed up with real personages and places, as in the Tales of King Khufu.[1] Among favourite stories is that of "Sanehat and his Adventures," written in the XII Dynasty, "The Tale of the Sekhti," or the "Peasant," in the IX Dynasty, "The Tale of Two Brothers,"[2] and the "Story of the Prince of Naharīna," of the XVIII Dynasty. There also exists an account given by a traveller in the Middle Empire, of a wonderful journey he took to the Incense Countries. A few historical romances survive, on which the Greek tales concerning old Egyptian history appear to have been founded, such as the stories of Kha-em-uas, a priest of Ptah, about 1250 B.C., preserved in a fine demotic papyrus of the Græco-Roman period.[3] But the most important of all books found in Egypt is The Book of the Dead, which is described in another chapter, together with other literature of religious import.

The houses of the Egyptians were built of sun-dried brick, which being a perishable material, few remains of private dwellings are in existence. From models which have been found, and the forms of some of the coffins supposed to resemble houses, conjectures have been made as to the character of these buildings. The foundations of those remaining at Tell el Amarna and El Kab give some idea of their size and arrangement, and the pictures on the Theban tombs help us still further. One of these is of a square house of two storeys, with plain whitewashed walls, a large doorway on one side, but no windows on the lower floor, and only two on the upper. The flat roof had a framework raised upon it, made of boards, to protect it from the sun and cause a current of air. The interior of the house had several chambers on the ground floor, generally used for domestic purposes, the upper floor being the one where the family lived, the roof of which was supported on slender pillars, forming a sort of verandah, hung with bright-coloured mats, where the inmates could sit and enjoy the air. In the screened windows of the women's quarters a small square hole was cut to enable them to look out unseen. The house of Aÿ, of the XVIII Dynasty, at Tell el Amarna, is very minutely described on the walls of his tomb, and may be taken as typical of the houses of the wealthy at that time. They seem to have lived in an extravagant fashion, although to modern ideas it

[1] Petrie, *Egyptian Tales.*
[2] See page 405.
[3] In St. Petersburg.

was a strange mixture of wealth and discomfort, perfumery and dirt. Furniture, as a rule, was both luxurious and comfortable. Chairs and couches were often of ebony inlaid with ivory, with feet shaped like lions' paws or birds' heads, and stuffed with soft cushions covered with embroidered material, or leather painted with flowers. The chief room was a great dining-hall, arranged with arm-chairs for the guests, jars of wine, and a large table upon which were placed many dishes, both of meat and fruit, with flowers and garlands. A jug and basin stood near the arm-chairs, showing that it was customary to wash the hands before and after eating. A door led from the dining-room to the bedroom behind, where an enormous four-post bedstead is shown, with three smaller beds placed near it. Fanbearers stood before the principal door, and to the right there was a court where servants were busy sweeping and carrying water. Beyond the kitchen was a separate building, where lived the wife of Aÿ and the women of his household, and there were other kitchens and quarters for the servants.

Egyptians were fond of good living, and the culinary department was an important one. Goose roasted on a spit was the favourite dish, but many varieties of birds and meats formed the *menu* of a dinner. Choice dishes were given foreign names, and "all manner of sweets were made," but no cooking recipes have come down to us. Bread and many kinds of cake were made in large quantities, so much so that in the picture of the bakery in the tomb of Rameses III., servants are shown kneading the dough with their feet, and others making it into all kinds of shapes. Breweries formed part of the establishment, and beer made from barley was in common use.

Houses varied in size and importance according to the station of their owners. Royal and wealthy personages had country as well as town houses. The only remains which give any idea of a royal residence are the ruins of the palace of Rameses III., at Medinet Habu. It is described in the Harris Papyrus as having "pillars, beams, and doors of silver, and a great balcony of good gold on which to appear." The walls of this building and the balcony still remain, but not the gold. Stables in which the horses and chariots were kept were situated in a court near the house. A little farther off were the sheds for the cows, which were tied to separate rings in the wall when feeding. We read that Queen Hatshepsut had the names of her cows inscribed over their stalls, one being called "The Favourite," or "Red Cow," and in the Amherst Collection there is an inscription of a "Keeper of the Cattle of Queen Amen-meryt."

Hornless cattle seem to have been much prized, and were often decked with gay clothing, and were never used for ploughing or threshing. The commonest breed is undoubtedly the large whole coloured animal, white or shaded from a darker back to a light colour beneath, with a compact head and lyre-shaped horns. The same is depicted in early Greek and Roman art, and is still common in Italy. It is probably represented in Britain by the Chillingham cattle. It may have had a common origin with the Zebu, but cannot be referred to any wild breed. Sheeted and spotted cattle are produced by selection and domestication. Whether they were imported or developed in Egypt is uncertain. Though polled cattle are represented on the Egyptian monuments, they have only been fixed as a breed in Britain within the last century. During the process a short pendulous horn sheath was left hanging after the horn had disappeared, and may be what is intended by the Egyptian artists.[1] Cattle were branded with the names of their owners, and numbers of herdsmen were employed, who drove them to fresh pastures when required. Sometimes these were on the opposite side of the Nile, across which the animals were obliged to swim, the men following in boats, and urging them forward with shouts and threats. There were flocks of goats and sheep as well as cattle, but these are not often portrayed on the monuments, and pigs are still more rare. Enormous numbers of geese and ducks were used both for food and for sacrificial offerings. The invention of the artificial incubation of eggs is ascribed to the Egyptians by Diodorus, who mentions how ovens, or rather rooms, were specially built for the purpose, and attended to by persons trained to bear the great heat of these chambers. This industry is still carried on to a large extent in many parts of Egypt. The donkey has been used in Egypt for all sorts of work from the earliest times, sometimes carrying the wealthy on litters, at others provisions for the soldiers in time of war; again threshing corn, or bearing heavy loads of stones.[2]

The first appearance of horses was about the time of the Hyksos Dynasties; they were never used for agricultural purposes or as beasts of burden, but seem to have been employed by the rich to draw their chariots in times of war and peace. A beautiful specimen is in the Turin Museum, and the body of the chariot of Thothmes IV. was discovered in his tomb at Thebes, 1903, and is now in Cairo. Horses were gaily decked with bright-coloured housings, and their headstalls were often

[1] From notes by Professor M'Kenny Hughes.

[2] See page 350 (Mentu-hetep).

adorned with feathers and lions' heads, or other devices in gold. Solomon paid 150 shekels for a horse bought from the Egyptian merchants.[1]

Dogs were made great pets of; nearly every family possessed one, and they were greatly loved by their owners. There are several accounts of dogs on the ancient monuments, but the most interesting is that relating to the dogs of King Antef, of the XI Dynasty.[2] Different breeds were employed in hunting, the largest species used being the "Slûghi," or Great Greyhound. These are exceedingly graceful and very swift, and their lineal descendants are still employed to hunt the gazelle. The house dog was often a short-legged species resembling a dachshund. The death of a domestic pet occasioned deep mourning in the household. Some of the dogs' names are curious, one mentioned on a stela in the Edwards Library is called Amen-en-hep, "Steering towards Amen." A small embalmed dog was found in the coffin of a certain Hapi-mery at Abydos, of the XXX Dynasty. Many mummies of the fox dog have been found throughout Egypt, and these are supposed to be the ancestors of the pariah dog now so common.

Cats also were much valued, and we read of their being used by their masters to retrieve birds caught in nets. When the cat died, every inmate of the house shaved his eyebrows,[3] and the reverence in which they were held is well known.

From the earliest ages the Egyptians have been lovers of sport, and chased not only the gazelle, but hares, foxes, and antelopes of all kinds, besides the hyena, jackal, lion, and hippopotamus. The latter was generally pursued in boats, and killed with harpoons. The bow and arrow, lasso, and bola were sometimes used, but not so much esteemed as hunting with dogs.

Bird-catching, both by "throw-sticks" and nets, was a very favourite amusement, of which occasionally the ladies were spectators. The birds were not always killed, but sometimes taken home and kept in aviaries. Collections of both live birds and wild animals were made by the kings and great men of the country. The title of Keeper of the Pelican Houses is named on a stela of the XIX Dynasty. There is a picture of a variety of foreign and native animals, including the giraffe, bear, elephant, leopard, lion, baboon, and monkeys, in a procession figured in the tomb of Rekhmara, a nobleman of high rank in the XVIII Dynasty. Monkeys often became great pets, and are frequently shown sitting beside their masters or mistresses, or occupied in mischievous tricks.

[1] 2 Chronicles i. 17. [2] See page 111. [3] Herodotus.

Fishing was a favourite pastime, the anglers either pursuing their sport in the river, or seated in arm-chairs on carpets in their gardens fishing in their tanks. Netting fish was a profitable occupation among the people. There were many varieties, and some so heavy that a man could only carry one at a time. Fish was much esteemed as food by all classes, and was dried and stored in every larder.

As well as these kinds of sports, all sorts of games and recreations were enjoyed by the Egyptians. During their childhood they had a great variety of toys, some very ingeniously made, such as jointed dolls, and crocodiles with moving jaws, and others. Games of ball and hoop were not only played by children, but by grown-up persons. The balls were of plaited reeds, leather, or hard porcelain, and much skill was required in throwing them. The game of draughts is called "Sent" in the papyri of Hunefer, Nebseni and many others, and in an inscription in the tomb of Aba, XXVI Dynasty, at Thebes, the games "Vase, Robbers, and Draughts" are mentioned. The boards are usually made with 30 squares, and are often engraved with the owner's name. Clay sealings in the tombs of Kings Narmer and Zer give the hieroglyph for a draught-board.[1] Athletic exercises of all kinds, and wrestling, which is so wonderfully depicted on the walls of the tombs of Beni Hasan, were special favourites with the youths of Egypt. Other games were played, as well as single-stick, throwing and raising weights, mock fights on land and water, acrobatic and gymnastic feats, and conjuring tricks.

The Egyptians were much given to hospitality, and entertained their friends frequently at feasts, where both men and women seem on some occasions to have been present, the master and mistress of the house presiding at their table and receiving their guests. These dinners took place at noon, and food was generally eaten with the fingers; spoons made of bone, ivory, wood, or bronze being used for soup or liquids. A strange custom is recorded of bringing in a wooden image of Osiris to be shown to the guests, in order to remind all present that life is short and pleasure fleeting. The saying, "the skeleton at the feast," has its origin here.[2] Wine was circulated freely, sometimes too freely, by the host, who exhorted those present to drink and enjoy themselves, and pledged his guests from a cup crowned with wreaths of flowers. During the banquet musicians played on various instruments, amongst which may be mentioned the harp, lyre, lute, and tabret, so

[1] *Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Dec. 1902.
[2] See Trimalchio's Supper. Bishop Taylor's *Holy Dying*, ch. ii. s. 1.

beautifully shown on the tomb of the Harper at Thebes, and also on Pyramid tombs of a much earlier date. The primitive flute, tambourine, and small drum are also seen on early monuments. These instruments, which varied in size and tone, accompanied the male and female singers. The songs were usually of a joyous nature, welcoming and complimentary to the guests, and were sung by single voices, the refrain being joined in by the chorus. At the conclusion of the feast, dancers were introduced, and it is probable that their movements very much resembled those now common in the East. Graceful little wooden figures of dancing girls have been found in the tombs at Thebes. Men performed as well as women, playing drums and castanets, and all this music was accompanied by the clapping of hands. Buffoons and dwarfs were brought in to assist in the entertainment.

Although the Egyptians seem fond of amusement of all kinds, there is no record of the drama or theatre. They evidently loved a joke, as two men are pictured at Beni Ḥasan laughing to each other, the hieroglyphics above them reading, "He! He!" and "Ha! Ha!" The ladies, while listening to the music, found time to discuss the fashions of their dress and jewels. These varied, according to the times they lived in, from garments of extreme simplicity to costly robes embroidered in gold, silver, and coloured silks. From the IV to the XVIII Dynasty there was but slight change in women's dress. All classes wore one simple narrow garment without folds, held up by bands over the shoulders, and made of white, red, or yellow material. Only occasionally, as in the figure of Nefret, wife of the High Priest Rahetep, is a cloak seen covering the dress. At the beginning of the XVIII Dynasty women wore two garments—a narrow one as before, and a cloak, both made of fine diaphanous material; and after this period fashions changed constantly, and became more complicated and luxurious. Women wore their own hair, generally plaited in an elaborate manner over a frame which projected far beyond the head, and fastened in its place by jewelled fillets or bands of gay ribbon. Sometimes wigs were worn, or other hair added, if the lady did not possess enough of her own. Sandals were used, made either of papyrus of very fine interlaced work, or of leather. Shoes were of strong leather and others of finer texture, variously coloured, both well and delicately made. As a rule, the lower classes went barefoot.

Jewellery was much prized, and equally worn by men and women, and was often splendid and valuable. Chains from which hung amulets and necklaces, earrings, and rings were

often of gold inlaid with precious stones, or of lapis-lazuli, and were of every conceivable form and shape. Beads were round, oblong, or square, and beautiful designs of bees, flowers, and devices were moulded in glass and worn as charms. The scarab, or beetle, was a very general ornament, and is found in every possible material, from the purest gold to the commonest pottery—most frequently in steatite, a soft stone glazed. The scarabs are almost always inscribed, sometimes with scroll ornaments or with the name of the person for whom they were made, or that of the king in whose reign he lived. Occasionally mottoes are cut upon them, such as "Beautiful," "Long Life," "A Happy New Year," or similar good wishes. The commoner sorts are turned out of moulds. Scarabs were sometimes used as seals, and often set as rings; but there are many speculations as to their general use, as they are found in such very large quantities.

Egyptian ladies were fond of perfumes and preparations for the toilet; they had combs for their hair, kohl boxes with little sticks for painting their eyes, and mirrors of burnished metal inserted in elaborately carved handles, in which to view the effect.

The earliest pictures of men's costume give a girdle of linen with a short skirt falling to the knees, and in the VI Dynasty a stiff triangular apron covered with linen was added to this dress. In the days of the Middle Empire the skirts were longer and sometimes embroidered, and for the first time the upper part of the body was draped. There was but little change until the New Empire, when the under skirt became fuller, and was sometimes looped in festoons, while a sort of mantle covered the back and was fastened over the chest. Dress varied according to the station or occupation of the wearer. Men had their gala dresses and hunting costumes, but the pattern of the skirt worn by the king was always the same, rounded at the sides, and copied as nearly as possible by persons of rank.

Short hair was generally worn by men, but wigs of all sorts and shapes were often adopted. The fashion of the priests' garments changed but little; some wore in addition to the linen skirt a cape or cloak. The High Priest of Heliopolis is portrayed in a very elaborate wig and wearing a panther-skin. His badge of office is suspended from the neck by many chains, to which hang six small crosses and balls of gold. Great ladies were sometimes allowed to assist in the sacred rites of the temples, and these offices were much coveted by them. To judge by the pictures, they all wore flowing garments covering the person,

and had the lotus as a head-dress, generally carrying another in the hand.

The Egyptians were a peaceable race, and, with the exception of a permanent corps of "Retainers of the King," who were enrolled to protect his person, soldiers were only called out when wanted for any special service, at which time each "Superintendent of the Soldiers" in the various nomes supplied the required number of men. These were never wanting, as the sons of soldiers were compelled to follow the occupation of their fathers, as was the case in all other professions. They had to attend the military school, and to provide themselves with necessary equipments. Common soldiers were armed either with bows and arrows, large shields and spears, or only with a battle-axe or sling. They wore a tunic with shoulder-straps, a belt round the waist, and a tight-fitting cap adorned with two ostrich feathers. Unless required for special service, soldiers pursued peaceful occupations. They were forbidden to live in towns, and employed themselves in cultivating the small allotments which were given them instead of pay. No change appears to have occurred in the Middle Empire, except that the frontiers were more strongly guarded, especially on the south. This formed the nucleus of the standing army, which in the New Empire was largely increased, both by the further levy of native troops and the addition of mercenaries. The royal guards, 1000 in number, when on duty, were furnished with rations of beef, bread, and wine. Escorts of soldiers were sent with the men who worked in the great stone quarries in the desert, to protect them from the wild tribes, and while there were obliged to assist the other workmen, and thus it appears that they were employed by the king in any public work requiring strength and exertion as well as in war and fighting. Charioteers must have formed part of the army, but the appearance on monuments of horsemen is very rare. Egyptian infantry was composed of regiments each distinguished by their arms. Some carried large shields with patterns on them, and were armed with spears, as may be seen from the model soldiers found in the tomb of Emsaht at Asyût, now in the Cairo Museum. There were bowmen, spearmen, swordsmen, slingers, etc., and each battalion had its officers and its own especial standard. The post of standard-bearer was one of great importance, and the fortunate holder of it was often invested with a badge representing two lions, emblems of courage, and two flies, typical of an enemy which, though repulsed, returns to the attack. The standard itself bore either a sacred subject or the name of the king, and was regarded by the regiment to

whom it belonged with superstitious awe. There were also the royal banners borne near the person of the king by the chief officers of his household. Troops were summoned by sound of drum and trumpet, and were well disciplined and trained. In later times, when wars were more frequent and important, metal helmets, coats of mail, and strong shields covered with hide, formed part of the soldier's dress.

Farmers do not appear to have been owners of the land, but simply tenants under the kings, priests, and nobles to whom the estates belonged, and labourers were hired to carry on the work under them. Taxes were levied on property, and were paid in kind. Correct records were kept of the property and goods of individuals, and apparently a census of the cattle, treasure, and lands was made very frequently. In early writings, special years of kings' reigns were often put down as "the year of the numbering of the Cattle," or "the second year of the numbering of the Cattle," and so forth. The only instance of a scene representing tax-gathering is in the tomb of Rekhmara. Quantities of pottery ostraka of late date have been found, stating the amounts of taxes due and giving receipts for those paid. Cattle, flocks and herds appear to have been the property of the owners, but animals employed for the plough belonged to the tenants, to whom all farming operations were confided. Wheat, barley, beans, lentils, clover, flax, and other crops formed the principal produce, and were sown in rotation according to the quality of the soil. Irrigation was a work of great labour, as all water had to be carried from the Nile in buckets slung by a yoke on men's shoulders, or by the "Shadûf," consisting of a bucket suspended by a rope to a pole, which is attached to a cross-bar between two posts. Men pull the rope till the bucket reaches the water and is filled, when a heavier weight fastened to the other end of the pole causes the bucket to turn over and empty its contents on the land. The plough was made of a ploughshare with two handles, to which were attached a long pole fastened by a cross-bar to the horns of the oxen who drew it. Its primitive form has never changed, and it is still in common use. Implements were as a rule made of stone or bronze, though iron ones of an early date have also been found. The hoe was employed to break up the heavy clods of hard mud left by the inundation, and as soon as the land was thus prepared, grain was distributed over the fields, and the quantity used carefully noted by a scribe. The seed was pressed into the soil by sheep or goats, which were driven up and down until all was covered with earth. Corn was reaped with short sickles, which for many centuries were made of flint, but as time went on varied in shape and material. The grain was cut very

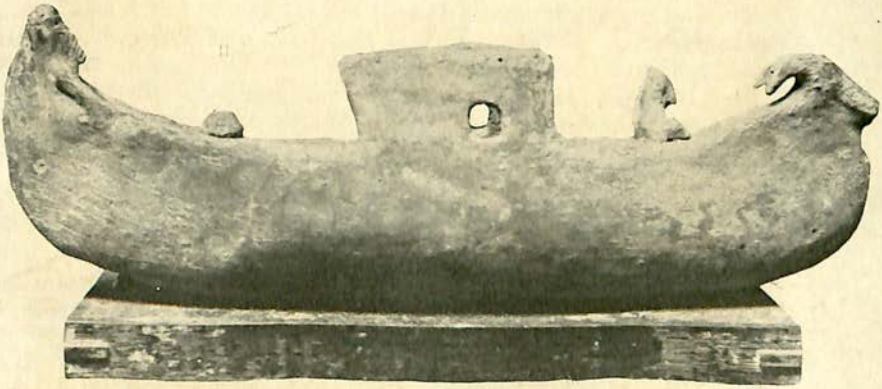
close to the ear, and was tied together in bundles, the stalks being crossed in the centre. It was then carried to the threshing-floor, where it was trodden out, donkeys being principally used in the Old Empire, and oxen in the New. Women went out as gleaners, and were afterwards employed in sifting the chaff from the good grain, which was strictly accounted for by scribes. The corn was then conveyed to the granaries, which in the Old Empire were conical-shaped buildings, and in the New, square mud houses with flat roofs. In early dynastic times the corn was ground by rubbing between two sandstone blocks. A number of these were found by Amêlineau and Petrie at Abydos. In the XII Dynasty the lower block was inserted in a wooden table, and the grinder adopted a standing position, instead of the earlier crouching attitude. Dhura *beledi*, or native dhura, a kind of millet (*Sorghum vulgare*), was much grown in Egypt. The Dhura Shami, or Syrian Dhura = Indian corn, was introduced from America by way of Syria, but it seems doubtful at what date. When the harvest was safely gathered in, offerings were made to the gods, and a general holiday was announced, when games and feasting and all sorts of amusements and recreation were indulged in.

In the time of Senefru (IV Dynasty) the culture of vines is mentioned, and during the time of the Old Empire six different sorts of wine were made. Vines were trained over trellis-work, and the fruit appears from the pictures to have been large and long-shaped. Vineyards are mentioned both in Upper and Lower Egypt, and from very early days wine seems to have been made and drunk. The most primitive press was simply a bag filled with grapes, fastened firmly at one end to a wooden frame-work and twisted at the other till all the juice was squeezed out. The culture of the vine was improved in the New Empire, and the fashion of treading out the juice was adopted. There is no history of the making of wine in Egypt; all we know is that the grape-juice was poured into large earthenware jars and sealed carefully with unburnt clay by the head gardener, who passed them on to the scribe, whose duty it was to write on each jar the name of the owner and the date of the vintage. The grapes of Mareotis were the most prized, and were supposed to owe their excellence to the gravel soil on which the stocks were grown. Many wealthy persons had their private vineyards as well as their own orchards and gardens. These were in early times only used for the growth of fruit and vegetables for the house, but as luxury increased the area was enlarged, and groves of shady trees, rare plants, shrubs, and flowers were imported from foreign countries. Amongst these were the myrrh tree from the Land of

Punt, and the myrtle from Cyprus, with the peach from Persia, the olive, fig, pomegranate, walnut tree, and the dôm palm. The date-palm, which until recently was considered of comparatively late introduction, is now proved to have been grown in very early times, as a hieroglyph sign representing this tree was found in the tomb of Menes, at Abydos. There must have been a great variety of flowers in these gardens, as numbers have been recently found and identified by Mr. Newberry from the tombs of Hawara. Rosebuds, apparently dry and shrivelled, were soaked by him in warm water, and gradually expanded so as to appear perfect in shape and form, after their burial 2000 years ago! Many other flowers were treated in the same way, such as mignonette, jasmine, convolvulus, purple cornflower and poppy, in all 24 varieties, of which almost all were of foreign origin, and may have been brought to Egypt many ages previous to their being buried at Hawara. Remains of vegetables were also discovered, including peas, beans, cucumbers and radishes, which latter as early as the IV Dynasty formed, with garlic and onions, a relish to the dinner of the workmen employed in building the Great Pyramid. No garden was complete without its shady arbour and cool tank, where the lotus and lovely water-lilies floated, and where "the large white goose lived, that was such a favourite with its master that it was not to be taken like the common ones to be given to the people."

Amongst trades, one of the earliest was boat-building; there was no other means of travel except by the Nile, and a boat of some sort was a necessity. The earliest appear to have been little more than rafts made of papyrus reed, widest in the centre, with the stern considerably raised. They were of different sizes, some sufficiently large to carry an ox. They were securely made, being firmly bound with thick rope made of papyrus or palm-bast, and were very light and easy to propel, either with poles or short oars. For larger boats, acacia wood was principally used. In the prehistoric age and in the Old Empire we find them of varied forms and sizes; these are usually shown with rowers, some carrying as many as 50 to 60 oars; while sailing seems to have been little practised except by men of rank, whose boats had one square sail of papyrus matting. Apparently wood sufficiently strong for masts could not be procured, as these were generally double, bound together firmly at the top, and kept in place by strong ropes attached both to bow and stern. The figurehead was often that of an animal with the head turned backwards. The cabin was always behind the mast, and every large boat carried a pilot, who gave the men the necessary orders. Cargo and transport boats seem to have been very much crowded

Wooden model of the Royal boat of Thothmes III



Prehistoric Model of a boat in Terra-cotta

with goods, and but little room was left for the oarsmen; but if very heavy, they were towed either by other vessels or by men. In the Middle Empire boat-building was improved. Rudders, hitherto unknown, were introduced, as well as single masts; and pleasure-boats had a luxurious cabin hung with gay mats, on the roof of which the travellers could sit and enjoy the voyage. Much taste was exercised in the adornment of these boats; the stern was, perhaps, fashioned as a lotus-flower; the blade of the rudder-oar resembled a bouquet of flowers, its point being elaborately carved; and the sails were of cloth of brilliant colours; one mentioned by Ezekiel[1] is of Tyrian dye. Six of these fine boats were found in the tomb of King Horus, XII Dynasty, at Dhashûr, where they had been buried in the sand after bringing the body of the king to its resting-place. One was presented by Mr. A. Carnegie to the Pittsburg Museum.

Vessels for the use of royalty seem to have been called by various names, as we read of King Khufu possessing one named "Star of the Two Countries," and Amenhetep III. had one named "Shining in Truth," and another, "The Dewy Aten," and we have many other instances. Ships for the sea were built like those for the river; but the only ones of which we have pictures are the sailing-boats of Queen Hatshepsut, which she sent to the Incense Country, or Land of Punt. Transport boats remained simple and somewhat clumsy in construction during the New Empire, and were furnished usually with a sort of cage in which to place animals or goods. In the time of Rameses III. battleships were of great size, higher at the stern than at the prow, and drawing very little water. There does not appear to have been a special department for the navy, as all soldiers had to learn the management of the galleys and how to work the sails. Baggage waggons of rough construction were employed for the transport of goods, and were drawn by oxen. The camel was not in use until a much later period.

No coinage was known, and therefore all commercial transactions, great and small, were carried on by means of barter. A picture in one of the tombs at Sakkara shows how marketing was conducted; the customer brought an assortment of articles and exchanged them for provisions, such as a fan for onions, sandals and little cakes for a necklet, and boxes of ointment for fish. Articles were mostly sold by weight, and public weighers were appointed to determine the value of goods, the scribe as usual entering the items.

The unit of weight was the "Deben" (=1400 or 1500 grains), and its name has the root meaning of a *ring* or coil of metal.

[1] Chap. xxvii. 7.

In this form precious metals were kept in the XVIII Dynasty, and goods were exchanged against a certain weight of such rings. To this method the later use of coined money as a medium of exchange can be easily traced. A great many weights in stone, some inscribed with their values, have been found, one of a very early date in the tomb of King Zer. One bears the cartouche of Khufu. Others come from the tombs of the XII and VIII Dynasties, also from Neqada, Illahûn, Naukratis, and elsewhere.

The standard measure of length was the royal cubit, or "Khet," which was the diagonal of the square, the sides of which were called "Remen" = 14·58 inches; it was about 20·62 inches, and was divided into 7 palms and 28 digits. It was used as an architectural unit, and the sizes of the quarry blocks at Hammamat are recorded by this measure.

The "Khet" of 100 cubits was used for the measurement of land, and the "Ater" for long distances. Area was reckoned by squares of the "Khet," called "Set" (in Greek "Arura"), and this notation seems to have been employed from the days of the IV Dynasty till the end of the Greek period.

The ancient corn measure, called the "Khar," a sack, was by the XVIII Dynasty superseded by the sack of sixteen "Hekts," the "Hekt" being the standard measure of capacity. For liquids and solids alike, such as gold, bread, beer, or incense, the "Hennu" = $\frac{1}{16}$ of the "Hekt," was commonly used.[1] Perhaps the document which throws most light on the subject of Egyptian weights and measures is the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, dating from the Hyksos period.

The weights and measures were under the protection of the god Ptah, and of Maat, the winged goddess of truth and justice; her symbols were an ephah, the just measure of capacity; a rod, the standard measure of length; and the stone weights. There is a curious similarity in this with the Israelitish symbols kept in the Ark, which was overshadowed with wings—the omer of manna, the rod of Aaron, and the stone weights of the Law.[2]

One of the oldest trades was that of the potter. At first the various vessels were moulded by hand, specimens having been found in the prehistoric graves of the neolithic period. Some of these bear very curious marks, almost identical with those found on similar objects along the Mediterranean shore and in Spain. The pottery found in the "New Race" tombs at Naqada bears no sign of having been turned on the potter's wheel, although it was in use in Egypt before the V Dynasty.

[1] Griffith, *Pro. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, May 1893; *ibid.*, Weigall, May 1902.
[2] Benson and Gourlay, *Temple of Mut.*

The earliest specimens were red, with black tops and burnished surfaces. These are also found in the tombs of the VI, X, and XII Dynasties at Tell Khyam, Asyût, and Gebelên. The art improved rapidly, and to trace the history of Egypt by its pottery alone would be a most interesting study. Quantities lie scattered over all the ancient sites; perfect examples are often seen, but for the most part the remains are only broken fragments. Purely foreign types of pottery of the I Dynasty were found at Abydos, and again in the remains of the XII Dynasty at Kahûn; some were Ægean in type. Pottery, figured and painted in blue, dates from the time of Amenhetep III. and Akhenaten, at the close of the XVIII Dynasty. At Naukratis the Greek settlers introduced an entirely new style.

Glazed scarabs, beads, and Shabti figures are found, dating from the XII Dynasty, and in addition to these objects a small glazed steatite vase of the time of Usertesen I., of the Middle Empire, exists. In the New Empire the number and variety of specimens increased. Glass beads and scarabs in glass are also of early origin. Blue and green are the predominant colours in these, as well as in faience. Very recently a wonderful collection of fragments of beautiful glass of various shades was found in the tombs of Thothmes IV. and Amenhetep II., and in the palace of Amenhetep III. near Thebes. Very small faience beads closely sewn together, and forming patterns of scrolls and hieroglyphics, were much used as a covering on mummies. Not only did the Egyptians understand the art of making glass and glazing pottery, but that of vitrifying stone and applying it even to large surfaces of sarcophagi. Alabaster was also a favourite material for vases, bowls, and jars.

The art of working in metals dates in Egypt from very ancient days, implements of copper having been discovered in a prehistoric grave at Naqada. Bronze is of a later period, and silver later still; iron is rarely mentioned. There are pictures of the smelting of precious metals, but none of their after-treatment, and it is from the exquisite results they achieved that we are able to judge of the wonderful skill of the workmen. Goldsmiths were held in great esteem, and were of three grades—"the goldsmiths," "chief goldsmiths," and "superintendent of goldsmiths." Articles of finely worked gold have been found in the tomb of Zer, at Abydos.

When the Nile fell, whatever wood was required for use during the coming year was cut down, and flocks of goats were sent to eat the leaves of the trees as they lay upon the ground. Specimens of carpenter's work show different degrees of excellence; those less skilled were employed in rough work, and used

the axe, the adze, the saw, plane, drill, and other tools resembling those of modern times. Tools were fitted into handles made of acacia wood, and bound firmly with strips of hide. Mummy-cases, doors, tables, and large objects were made of sycamore wood; the joints were perfectly true and well adjusted, and were fastened with small wooden nails both horizontally and vertically. Choice woods imported from foreign countries, such as ebony, cedar, and others, were used for the more elaborate furniture and for the massive coffers in which clothes were kept, as well as for small boxes. For this delicate work skilled labour was required, and there is a very interesting picture of carpenters at their trade, one of whom seems to be attending to a glue-pot on the fire.

Leather was much used for furniture, the seats of chairs and cushions being made of it. Harps were ornamented with coloured leather, and the straps found round mummies were often most artistically tooled in hieroglyphic and other designs.

Skins were employed for wine and water bottles, and the preparation of these was a very simple process. "The skins were put into salt and flour for three days and thoroughly cleaned. The stalks of the plant 'periploca, or ghulga,' were then pounded and laid in water and applied to the inside of the skin for one day, when, the hair having fallen off, the skin was simply left to dry, and was then ready for use." The tools of the ancient leather-workers were exactly the same as those of modern workmen.

Weaving was one of the earliest arts practised in Egypt, and the first mention of clothing is of a piece of linen cloth wrapped round the body. Woven mats made of papyrus reeds were spread over the floors of houses, and were recently found in the tombs at Ballâs. Impressions of matting were seen on the mortar in the tomb of Merneith, of the I Dynasty, at Abydos. The mats were of palm fibre dyed in different colours, and the patterns were very bright and effective. Linen both coarse and fine was made of flax, and the processes of spinning and preparing it for the loom are described and pictured at Beni Hasan. Different qualities of cloth were manufactured, some interwoven with patterns or fringed with coloured threads, but the best and that most valued was called "Byssus," and was so fine that it was almost transparent. The weaving was generally done by women. When finished, the material was apparently stored by the Treasury officials, who are represented in a picture in Old Empire days packing it into boxes and carrying it to the "House of Silver." Specimens of painted cloth are common, and those of the XVIII Dynasty are very

beautiful. Some were covered with a kind of stucco, on which patterns of hieroglyphs were drawn. Embroidery was certainly in use during the Middle Empire, and wooden reels, threads, and silks have been found of the XVIII Dynasty. Many articles as well as dresses seem to have been embroidered, such as cushions, covers for wine-jars, and seats.

The careful culture of the "Cyperus Papyrus" was perhaps the most essential industry of all, as papyrus seems to have been used in every possible way, but of all these the most important was the making of writing material, and our word "paper" is derived from its name. Papyrus grew best in the marshes of Lower Egypt; its height was about 15 feet, and its stem triangular. This was cut into thin strips, which were laid upon a table and crossed by similar strips, which were fastened down by glue. These were smoothed out by heavy pressure, and when dry were ready for use. Papyrus so made was costly, and sometimes the memoranda were washed out and the same piece used again. The width of the strips varied from 6 inches in the V Dynasty to 17 inches in the XX. The tops of the papyrus reed were employed in decorating the temples, and the roots made good firewood.

It seems uncertain how the beautiful colours on Egyptian stuffs were produced; but the effect of acids, salts, and other chemicals, as well as those of vegetable dyes, must have been known, and in some instances various colours and shades appear on one piece of cloth. Pigments used in painting were found after careful research by Dr. Ure to consist of the following matter:—The blue and green colours were made from oxide of copper, the red of a kind of earth mixed with muriate of iron, the black of burnt bone mixed with gum, the white of chalk, and the yellow, iron ochre. At Tell el Amarna many of these paints were found, and when ground and mixed with oil were successfully used by Mr. William Carter to paint a picture. Ink was made from lamp-black, or from the lees of wine burnt and mixed with gum. Traces of painting are found on almost every monument, and Egyptians of all ages loved decoration and brilliant colours, which harmonised so well with the natural beauties surrounding them. They were able to imitate Nature closely, for although they treated the human form very conventionally, their figures, in spite of it, are extremely spirited, and their animals, birds, flowers, and fruit are so lifelike that the different kinds can be distinctly recognised. Their geometrical patterns are most elaborately formed, with an endless variety of curves and scrolls. The style varied in the Old, Middle, and New Empire, and often the finding of a particular pattern serves

to date a monument or painting to a dynasty or reign. The painted groups of hieroglyphic figures, and the artistic treatment of the sacred beetle, and of the asp or uræus, prove to what great perfection Egyptian art was carried.

Egypt is famed for its buildings,[1] and some of the most marvellous date from the very earliest times of its history. The aboriginal dwellers in the Nile Valley probably lived in conical wattled huts of palm or papyrus, and the immigrants from the East seem to have adopted the same style of building, daubing them over with mud. These were superseded in the most ancient times by dwellings of mud bricks, which have been found in the prehistoric tombs, where arched brickwork may be seen, the earliest known being of the III Dynasty. Wood was also employed for structural purposes, the roofs of palm being supported by beams of wood, imported, most likely, from Syria; while the tomb of Merab, son of Khufu (3950 B.C.), was evidently lined with wooden panelling, and the interesting panels of Hesi in the Cairo Museum come from a Memphite tomb of the III Dynasty. Stone houses were not in use during the I Dynasty, though a stela was found in the tomb of Zer (4700 B.C.), and that of Den was paved with slabs of pink and grey granite. The first actual stone building is the tomb of King Khasekhemui, II Dynasty (*circa* 4350 B.C.), and rough stone pyramids of the latter half of that Dynasty have been found at El Amrah. Neter-khet, a king of the III Dynasty (4200 B.C.), is said to have built a house of hewn stone, probably his pyramid, when a series of stone chambers surmounted by a mass of brickwork is referred to.

The gradual development of the pyramid can be traced through these early tombs, which were at first mere pits piled over with sand or brickwork, and at length culminated in the perfect structures at Gizeh of the IV Dynasty.

The earliest form of Egyptian temple is described as consisting of a rude hut of wood and lattice-work. The "House of the God," "Neter Het," varies in detail in the Old, Middle, and New Empires, but the main structural characteristics are the same. The approach to the temple is generally between two rows of sphinxes leading to a large gateway, or "Pylon," which is a massive building, broad at its base and narrowing to the top. Through this doorway a large open court is reached, which is surrounded inside by two or more rows of columns. Exactly opposite the great entrance there is a smaller one, by which a second court or hypostile is entered, like the first, only much

[1] Petrie, "Lecture on the Source and Growth of Architecture in Egypt," in *Journal of Inst. Brit. Architects*, 1901.

smaller, and with pillars which formerly supported a roof. A third and inner door from this court led to the sanctuary in which the statue of the god stood, and on either side smaller chambers were frequently placed. The principal ceremonies took place in the outer courts, and only those privileged, such as the king or the high priest, were allowed to enter the sanctuary of the gods. All temples had additional buildings behind or beside them, for the use of the priests, or were chapels dedicated to different deities.

Nearly all the kings were great builders, and besides inaugurating new works, added constantly to the existing temples, often placing pylons, courts, and columns around them, without following any settled plan. Slaves and convicts, as well as soldiers, were employed in carrying out these vast undertakings, and worked in gangs under taskmasters. Columns were usually built so as to resemble in some degree the form of the lotus, the shaft in many instances representing a bundle of lotus stalks, being broad at the base and narrowing to the capital, which was in the form of the flower or bud. The earliest example of a lotus column is of the V Dynasty, and this form developed into the stately shafts of the XVIII Dynasty, when they were often covered with hieroglyphs. The walls and roof were also elaborately ornamented, and the designs changed with the style of the period. The earliest existing fluted columns are at Beni Hasan, and resemble the Doric. It is impossible to describe all the temples, as no two are alike throughout Egypt, but a distinct type of architecture remained in vogue for many ages. The latest building which may be called truly Egyptian is the "White Convent" at Sohag, built in the time of Constantine the Great.

The plan of the temple of Dêr el Bahari, or "Convent of the North," is, however, so different, that some explanation of it is needful. It was approached through a long avenue of sphinxes, traces of which are visible. A gateway at the end of the avenue leads to a large court, in the centre of which is a steep incline leading to a terrace on which stand a row of columns to the right and left. After crossing this, there is another court and another incline steeper and longer than the first, rising to a second terrace with similar rows of pillars. On either hand are chapels, courts, and columns, and in the centre of the terrace is a large granite doorway, which gives entrance to the upper court. To the right of this stands the great temple altar, which is remarkable, being the only one as yet found in Egypt. It is surrounded by steps which the priests ascended to offer sacrifices, and on the opposite side of the court is the "sacrificial

hall," where offerings were brought to Queen Hatshepsut. Beyond, in the centre of the court, lie chambers which are hollowed out of the side of the mountain. The temple is built of pure white stone, and is entirely covered with hieroglyphs and beautiful paintings.

It is impossible to say when the Egyptians first developed their marvellously original style of drawing and sculpture. The statues of the IV Dynasty are as striking and lifelike as those of any later date. There is an almost unbroken chain of statues of the kings and princes of Egypt from very early times down to the Roman Conquest.

Up to the XIX Dynasty, battle scenes and others with numerous figures were drawn in parallel pictures, but at that time the fashion changed, and such scenes were represented as a confused medley of persons. When an artist was desired to decorate any given space, he divided it into squares and arranged his design accordingly; but however the work was achieved, the result is that perfect pictures still exist of life in Egypt, from the splendid victories of the proud Pharaohs to the occupations of the meanest slaves.

PART II.—MUMMIES

"His palms are folded on his breast:
There is no other thing express'd
But long disquiet merged in rest."
TENNYSON: *The Two Voices.*

"And strew faint sweetness from some old
Egyptian's fine worm eaten shroud,
Which breaks to dust when once unrolled."
BROWNING: *Paracelsus.*

One of the most remarkable traits of character among the ancient Egyptians was their great reverence for their dead, and the care they bestowed upon them. Long life was considered a great blessing, and people hoped to live for 110 years,[1] but they never forgot that the end must come to all, and they prepared tombs for themselves and their relations while living. They were not a gloomy or sad people in consequence, but delighted in the thought that these tombs would be a beautiful resting-place after death. The Egyptians firmly believed in the immortality of the soul and the mystery of the resurrection of the body, and therefore took the greatest pains

[1] See page 138.

to preserve their dead, so that they might retain their lifelike appearance in the next world. They believed that during life soul and body were united, but that in death they became entirely separated, as each then entered upon a new and immortal existence, being divided into several parts, of which one called the "Ka" was a personality, a second self or double. This "Ka" had the power of quitting or re-entering the body as it pleased. When it returned, it was supposed to reanimate the mummy, which therefore required the food and drink that were provided for it. When it quitted the tomb, it could revisit its earthly home and join in the occupations and pleasures of the inmates, but if touched by mortal hands it instantly vanished; thus somewhat resembling the idea of ghosts or astral bodies.

The heart, "Ab," was considered the centre of life and a portion of the soul, which, though taken from the mummy at its burial, was given back to it after being weighed in the Hall of Judgment and found to be perfect. Another portion of the soul was the "Ba," which was supposed to take the form of a hawk with a human head, and to fly direct into the presence of the gods when the person died. It is often represented as hovering above the mummy.

"Khaibet," the shadow, formed another portion of the soul; it remained with the person during life, and left him after death. The "Sahu," or "Wrapped-up One," was the incorruptible part of the body; the "Khat" was the mere material portion. The "Khu," or "Shining One," was evidently the idea of a glorified body. The "Sekhem" was the "Personified Power or Strength of the Deceased." But although the Egyptians divided man into so many parts, they had a conception of the whole as a spiritual entity, and this they called the "Osiris."

Osiris was to the Egyptians a perfect ideal, doing good while on earth, and afterwards reigning supreme in the Under World. There could therefore be no higher aim for mortals than to try and become an Osiris after death, and thus to live for ever in blessed repose and happy activity, in the "Land of the Fields of Aalu," where the harvest never fails, and through which the River of Life for ever flows.

As soon as a death took place, great public lamentation was made. The higher the rank of the deceased, the greater was the mourning; his friends ran through the streets weeping and wailing and throwing dust upon their heads. For 72 days (the same number as was observed for the mourning of Jacob[1]) the family continued these signs of grief in their own houses, singing

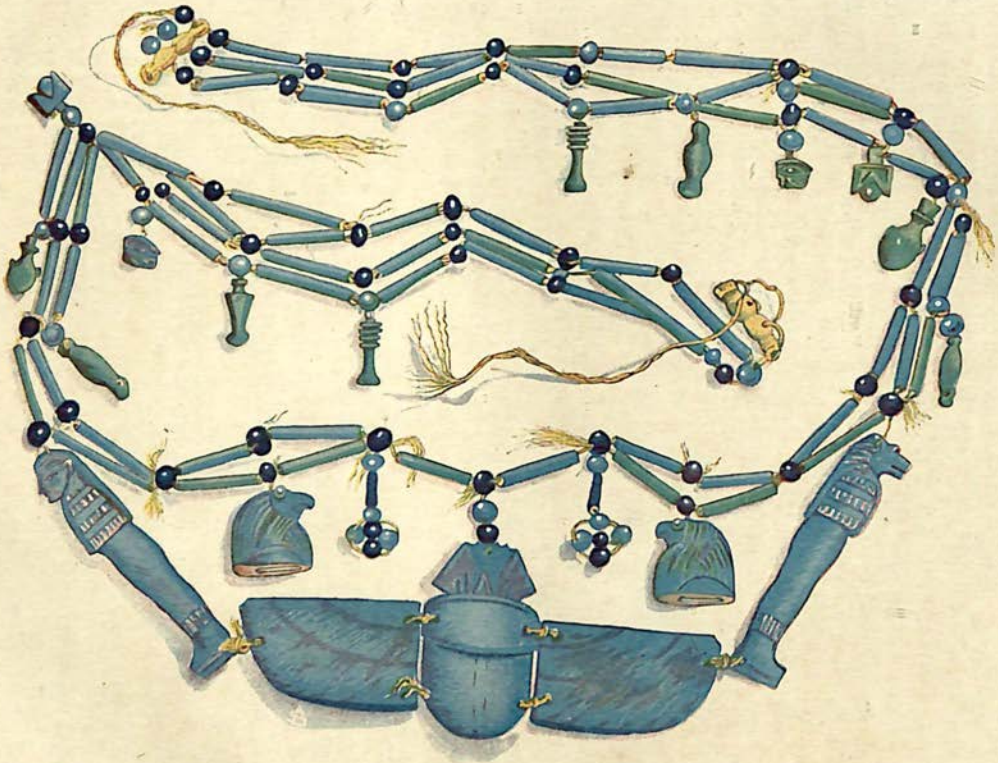
[1] Genesis l. 3.

dirges, and observing all the required ceremonies. During this time the dead person was placed in a bath of natron, which was procured from the Salt Lakes, on the Libyan side of the Nile, and is a compound of salt and soda. The body was previously prepared by removing certain portions with a flint knife. The persons who performed these operations were called the "Paraschites." They were much looked down upon as a class. Certain portions of the body were, after the XVIII Dynasty, placed in four jars called Canopic vases,[1] under the protection of the four children of Horus, or Amenti. Each jar bore its sign—"Amset," the human head; "Hapi," the ape; "Taumutef," the jackal; and "Kebhsenuef," the hawk. The rest of the body was then filled with bitumen, and with precious scents, gums, spices, and chemicals to preserve it. Amulets, charms, and jewels were placed upon it; the "Eye of Horus," the Uzat, was laid as a protection on the breast, as well as figures of the winged beetle and the Amenti. A large scarab, usually of stone framed in gold, on which the name of the deceased and a special formula from the Book of the Dead were inscribed, covered the space where the heart had been. A scarab is a model of the *Scarabæus sacer.* Its name in hieroglyphs is "Kheperer," a word similar to that retained in the English cock-*chafer*, and to the German "Käfer," a beetle. This Kheper sign means also "to be," or "become," or "turn," and by a kind of play upon the word the scarab became a symbol of resurrection and emblematic of immortality. Among the other numerous amulets worn by the living and buried with the dead were the following:—

AMULETS.

Sign.	Name.	Object.	Signification.
	Ab.	A jar.	The heart. Put in the mummy to replace the heart, to give an independent existence.
	Ankh.	A knot or orbit.	Life. To give and preserve life.
	Tet.	A pillar with 4 capitals, or 4 columns seen in perspective.	Stability, strength, firmness.

[1] So called by early Egyptologists, who were misled by their resemblance to the Osiridian vases represented in Græco-Roman times on the coins of Canopus.—Maspero.



NECKLACE OF AMULETS ON THE ORIGINAL STRING. FOUND INTACT ON A MUMMY IN 1839.

AMULETS—*continued.*

SIGN.	NAME.	OBJECT.	SIGNIFICATION.
	Hekt.	Frog.	Spontaneous generation—resurrection.
	Hek.	A crook.	A symbol of ruling.
	Hez.	The White Crown of Upper Egypt.	Sovereignty.
	Kheper.	A beetle.	To become. Creation and Resurrection.
	Khu.	The horizon or rising sun.	That the dead should rise and rest with the sun daily.
	Khnem.	A libation vase.	To preserve Nile water. An offering.
	Menat.	An ornament or rattle.	Divine protection. Gift of the god Ptah.
	Mut.	A vulture.	Mother. Protection of Isis.
	Nefer.	A musical instrument or windpipe.	Beauty. Good fortune.
	Nekhnekh.	A scourge.	The twofold power of urging and restraining.
	Pshent.	Double Crown of Upper and Lower Egypt.	The union of the two lands.
	Sem.	Lotus bud or plant. (?)	To be united to the god.
		A plummet and level.	Justice for the dead.
	Shen.	The sun's orbit.	Unending existence in a future life.
	Teshert.	Red Crown of Lower Egypt.	Dominion.
	Sa.	Buckle of Isis.	Protection.
	Uas.	A papyrus or lotus column.	Ever green. Eternal youth.
	Urs.	A head-rest.	To procure sleep and peace.

AMULETS—*continued.*

SIGN.	NAME.	OBJECT.	SIGNIFICATION.
	Usekh.	Gold collar.	To widen and give power to cast off the bandages.
	User.	Royal sceptre.	Power and dominion over earth and heaven.
	Uzat.	The two eyes of Ra, with the tears of Isis.	Sun and Moon. Protection against the "evil eye."
	(?)	Fingers or pointers.	Unknown. To avert the evil eye.
	As.	Steps.	Steps leading to the throne of Osiris.

These and other amulets were sometimes inscribed with magical formulæ, and were placed on different parts of the body, prayers being said by the priests when they were so placed. In the Book of the Dead they are called "Nekan," or words of power, enabling objects to come to the deceased when desired "swifter than greyhounds and quicker than light."

They were made in many different kinds of steatite stone, glazed porcelain of various shades, or other material. Square plaques of green stone are often found in mummies of ancient date; they were sometimes inscribed. A ring was often put upon the little finger bearing the name of the deceased. When all was ready, thick folds of cloth were laid upon the body so as to make an even surface, and it was then swathed carefully in fine linen bandages about 3 inches in width and very long, the last roll being sometimes coloured or gilt. The name of the dead person was frequently written on the end of each strip (in later times it was inscribed on a wooden label and attached to the mummy); papyri also were enclosed containing verses from the Book of the Dead.

The body was now called "Sahu." Our word "mummy" is derived from "Mumia," the Greek and Arabic name for bitumen, but whence this word originated is very uncertain. When all preparations were finished, the mummy was lifted into a case or coffin. The earliest cases were rectangular and very plain, with one or more bands of inscription round the case and on the lid, and the "Sacred Eyes" on the side or end, through which the mummy was supposed to see. Inside they were usually painted white, with passages from the Book of the Dead in black.

From the XVIII Dynasty the cases were shaped to fit the body closely, and were usually painted with hieroglyphic signs, and surmounted by a face, supposed to resemble that of the deceased, carved in wood, and sometimes painted green, the colour sacred to Osiris. At a later period these first cases were often made of plaster mixed with linen called "cartonnage." In Græco-Roman times the portrait of the mummy painted on panel in coloured wax, or gilt, was sometimes placed over the face like a mask, or fixed in front of it. Coffins were also made in terra-cotta, with the faces modelled, and patterns painted on them. Before the coffin was closed it was usual to rest the head of the person upon a pillow of wood, granite, or alabaster, underneath which circular pieces of linen, called "hypocephali," inscribed with texts, were placed; and also to cover the mummy with a network of beads, more or less costly according to the wealth of the deceased. Beadwork faces are sometimes found, but are rarely perfect. Beautiful wreaths made of lotus flowers, rose-petals, marjoram, thyme, and sweet herbs, were frequently enclosed within this first case, which was then elaborately decorated with painted hieroglyphic inscriptions relating to the past and future life of the mummy. This was often enclosed in a second case, likewise painted with scenes from the life of the deceased and writings from the Book of the Dead, and these were sometimes again enclosed in a third sarcophagus, made of wood, stone, or alabaster. The name, titles, and pedigree of the person was usually inscribed on the outer case, and often also the cartouche, or seal, of the king in whose reign the individual had lived. From these inscriptions much interesting history has been obtained; for the same manner of burial, though of course varying considerably in detail at different epochs, was customary in Egypt from the remote times of the Old Empire down to the fourth century of our era.

When the time came that the body was to be carried to the tomb, numbers of persons assembled at the house, and formed a procession of women weeping and singing, priests carrying images of the gods, followed by many servants, dressed according to their rank and office, bearing fruit, flowers, ducks, geese, jars of wine, clothing, household utensils, and furniture, including the altar on which the offerings were to be placed—everything, in short, that the mummied person had been accustomed to use when alive, and that they believed his "Ka" would require. The sarcophagus was laid on a bier and drawn by oxen to the river, or sacred lake, which it was allowed to pass after acquittal by the 42 Judges. Here it was transferred to

a "Baris," or barge, and ferried over the water. The barge was preceded by boats containing wreaths and flowers to strew before the procession, and followed by all those who took part in the ceremony. As soon as the place of burial was reached, the offerings were deposited in the chamber where the Ka statue was to stand. The mummy was then raised to an upright position, and the nearest relations knelt down in front of it, embracing it with every sign of emotion and sorrow, some throwing wreaths over it, and others casting dust on their own heads. As soon as all necessary ceremonies were completed, the mummy was reverently laid in the tomb prepared for it. These tombs were generally cut out of the rock on some mountain-side, but the oldest form of sepulchres were those hollowed in the ground, above which either pyramids or flat-topped mastabas of brick or stone were raised. "Mastaba" is an Arabic word; it is really the name for the raised seat found near the entrance in Arab houses. These tombs had one small entrance, which was closed up after the burial as a protection from robbers. In most tombs there are one or more chambers, from one of which a shaft led down to the final resting-place of the mummy. These chambers were usually covered with hieroglyphic writing describing the life and occupation on earth of the individual interred in the tomb and all he was supposed to enjoy in the other world.

Formulæ giving the propitiatory offerings or royal oblations to the gods are of frequent occurrence, and the stages through which the dead had to pass before reaching the final abode of the blessed were also depicted on the walls of the tomb. On stated days the relations and friends of the deceased used to meet in the first room of the tomb, to renew the gifts for the use of the Ka of the deceased. A small chamber[1] off one of the rooms, usually walled up, contained the Ka statue. Frequently several of these statues are found in one tomb; seven were discovered in that of Khafra. The so-called "false door" of the tomb was for the use of the Ka.

Little figures called Shabti, or Ushabti (answerers), made of wood, stone, or porcelain, are often found in great numbers in the chamber with the mummy. These are supposed to represent servants or attendants in readiness to wait upon their master's Ka, or double, and his name and profession are inscribed upon them. According to a chapter in the Book of the Dead, they were also "to plough the fields and fill with water the canals," and to do many other kinds of manual labour decreed for the "Osiris" of the deceased, in the Under World.

[1] Called "Serdab," from the Arabic word for a passage.

Small figures called Ptah-Seker-Osiris were also placed in the tombs; these were shaped like a mummy, wearing the feathers, horns, and disk, standing upright on miniature chests, wherein rolls of papyrus were sometimes hidden, over which a hawk was placed facing the figure. They were usually beautifully painted with formulæ and the name of the dead. They were supposed to protect the "Osiris," and supply the Ka with his sepulchral meals. Counterfeits of these provisions were frequently provided, and even model kitchens are found, where figures of men and women are engaged in cooking and placing the food in jars of all shapes and sizes, varying in workmanship according to the date. Sir Gardner Wilkinson mentions that he has found "remains of alluvial soil in front of tombs, evidently brought there to make gardens, which were carefully attended to by the friends and relatives of the dead."

If the person were a scribe, his writing-case and palette were enclosed with the mummy; if an architect, the plans of the buildings he had designed; if a lady, her toilet-box, containing kohl for painting underneath her eyes, oils for her hair, and scents and small perfume boxes made of stone, alabaster, or lapis-lazuli. Her necklaces and ornaments, hairpins, combs, and fans, as well as her mirror, were often buried with her; while in the case of a warrior of the VI Dynasty, whose tomb has just been excavated at Aswân, his flint-tipped arrows with the quiver and bow were found lying on the top of the coffin. Beautifully made figures of soldiers and people following various trades, sacrificing bulls, filling granaries while the scribe records the quantities of corn stored; small models of houses, tombs, and boats have also been found in the tombs, which give a good idea of what the life of the ancient people must have been.[1]

[1] A fine collection of these figures was discovered in 1902–3 at Beni Hasan by Garstang.

CHAPTER III

PART I.—THE GODS

". . . And around them, and above them, blazon'd on the rocky walls,
Crowned with Stars, enlaced with Serpents, in divine processionals,
Ibis-headed, jackal-featured, vulture-headed, pass on high,
Gods on gods through Times perspective, pilgrims of Eternity.
. . . . . .
And on high o'er shining waters, in their boats the gods sail by,
In the Sun-boat and the Moon-boat, rowed across the rose-hued sky."
MATILDA BLIND: *The Tombs of the Kings.*

IT is not an easy task to convey a clear idea of the religion of the ancient Egyptians, especially as writers still differ as to the attributes of the gods and the extent to which they were worshipped. Some think that in the earliest times the people believed in one god, whose various attributes, embodied in some form, were held sacred; others are of opinion that at first numerous gods were worshipped, and that these were gradually merged into one. The first idea is the grandest and the most probable, as the ancient sacred writings refer to one supreme god who was "everliving," "all powerful," and "invisible," "creator of all things," one who was to be loved, adored, and feared, who could punish the guilty and reward the good, and had power to grant eternal life after death.

Various forms were given by the people to the countless attributes of this one god. Each nome chose its own particular emblem for worship, to which it gave material shape, and priests who conducted the services were called "uab," or the pure, or "hen Neter," servant of the god. Prayers were recited by a priest called the "kher-heb." Much rivalry existed between the nomes in consequence of the rank each god was supposed to possess, which often led to serious quarrels. The hieroglyphic sign for the word "god" is "neter." This is always placed where the name of a god is used, and if more than one god is mentioned the sign is repeated two, three, or more times, the most perfect number being nine. Opinions vary as to the meaning of the word "neter"; "strength," "power," "self-existent," "possessing power to renew life indefinitely," are

among those given. Some have considered it as the square of the Pyramid, or Secret House of the god. The following verses selected from a hymn show the manner in which the word "neter" is used, as each line begins with this sign:—

"God knoweth him that knoweth Him,
He rewardeth him that serveth Him,
He protecteth him that followeth Him."

"God is one and alone, and there is none other with Him.
God is the One, the One who has made all things.
God is a Spirit, a hidden Spirit, the Spirit of Spirits, the great Spirit of Egypt, the Divine Spirit.
God is from the beginning, and has existed from the beginning."[1]

Besides this extremely exalted idea of a supreme being, the Egyptians deified the numerous aspects of nature, the sun, the moon, the earth, the seasons and their different powers and influences, calling them by many names, and endowing them with various attributes, thus creating an almost infinite number of gods and goddesses. The god who personated Chaos before the time of created things was "Nu," the god of the primeval waters. He was represented as the heavens in which floated "Ra," the Sun god, in the solar bark, who in the early formula thus addresses him:

"Oh, thou eldest god by whom I first had my being!"

and Nu answers:

"Oh, my son Ra! thou art greater than thy creator!"[2]

The 15th chapter of the Turin Book of the Dead contains the following lines:—

"Hail, Ra! Lord of Rays." "He exalteth thee (Nu) in the morning, He doeth homage to thee at evening, His soul goeth forth to thee in heaven, journeying in the 'Madet' boat in the morning, arriving in the 'Sekti' boat in the evening."[3]

In some texts there is a boat mentioned for each hour. Does not all this myth recall the verse of the 1st chapter of Genesis, where it says "the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters"?

Ra was one of the principal deities, the sun being to the Egyptians the source of life and light, and the night typical of death and darkness. In the litanies to the sun there are 75 invocations to Ra written for recitation, each beginning with a different title—"True of Voice," "Overcoming

[1] Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians.*
[2] Budge, *Egyptian Religion.* [3] *Ibid.*

all obstacles," etc. Ra was called "Lord of Life"; he had no consort, all his acts he performed alone. He was looked upon at his rising as the giver of all good things, when he was named "Harmakhis," or "Horus," whose symbol, the hawk, was supposed to soar nearest to the sun; he is also called "Khepera" in the morning, when he is shown as a figure with a scarabæus on his head and outspread wings. The true meaning of "Kheper" is to "become," so the sun begins as "Kheper," becomes "Ra" at noon in his full strength and heat, and "Atum," or "Tûm," when he sets. Tûm was worshipped in the Delta, and the town of Pi-tûm, or Pithom, was dedicated to him. So Ra passed each day through the heavens fighting against "Set," the god of darkness, whom he vanquished every night, and by his reappearance in the morning showed the triumph of good over evil. Although worshipped throughout all Egypt, the principal shrine of the god Ra was at Heliopolis, or On. Obelisks were dedicated to him because they pointed to the sky, and the hieroglyphic sign for Heliopolis is an obelisk. Ra is generally represented as a man with a hawk's head, on which he bears the disk of the sun encircled by the uræus, or asp, the emblem of eternity. In one hand he carries the jackal-headed staff of power, the "user," in the other the symbol of life, the "ankh." "Sa Ra" was used as the title of all the kings of Egypt, and meant the "Son of the Sun," showing the belief in the divine origin of the kings.

"Shu" is the "Divider of the Water," or "Uplifter of the Atmosphere." He is pictured as a man kneeling with the sun's disk or the feather of truth upon his head; his hands are outstretched holding up the sky, which is personified by the goddess "Nut," whose body, painted blue, usually covered with stars, forms the vault of the sky, her feet touching the horizon on one side and her hands stretched across to the other. In these scenes, in front of Shu, "Geb," the earth, lies, as if trying to rise, but prevented from doing so by Shu, the Divider, who divides the earth from the sky. Shu is the father of Seb or Geb, and Nut is his mother. The emblem of Seb is a goose, which is supposed to have laid the egg from which the world was made.

In the legend of Osiris we read that a new division was made of the year, 5 days were added to the 360, called epagomenal days, and that on each of these days a new god was born, Nut being their mother. On the first day Osiris (Asar), on the second Horus (Heru), on the third Typhon (Set, or Sutekh), on the fourth Isis (Ast), and on the fifth Nephtys (Nebhat).

"Ptah" is named "Father of the Mighty Fathers," "The

Opener or Creator." He created himself, and is "Lord of Truth," and "King of both Lands," meaning the Upper and the Under World. Kheper, the beetle, or scarabæus, was his emblem. In the same way as this beetle rolls up with its hind legs a large ball of earth, in order to conceal its eggs, so Ptah the Creator, as "Ptah Tanen," is supposed to have formed the Sun egg and the Moon egg, and is the counterpart of Seb, who, as the goose, laid the Earth egg. Ptah is a figure swathed as a mummy in a close-fitting cap with a scarab on the top and a long, bell-shaped tassel, the "menat," at his back. He holds the "tet," or "Column of Stability," in his hand. His name is found on some of the earliest monuments, and his chief seat of worship was at Memphis. Ptah also was a builder.

"Ptah-Sekar-Osiris" is a very strange form of this god. He has the same smooth head, with a tight-fitting cap and a beetle at the top, but deformed legs and a short body. He had the charge of the sacred boat or ark of Ra, and of the dead when rising. He has the threefold attributes of Life, Death, and Resurrection, and is supposed to have the power of returning from his human to his divine nature at will. He presided over the winter solstice, or "Little Sun," 26th Khoiak, or 22nd December.

"Amen" may mean the "secret one," and is one of the forms of Ra reappearing every day. He was revered as one of the greatest of the gods, and had many titles: such as "The Ruler of Thrones," "Chief of all the Gods," "Lord of Kings," "Maker of Men," "Farmer of Flocks," "Maker of Herbage," "Who maketh the Cattle to live," "Lord of the Everlasting," "The Creator." Many hymns were made in his honour, the longest being that now preserved in the Cairo Museum in a papyrus dating from the XX Dynasty. It is impossible to quote the whole hymn, but these few lines will show something of its grandeur:—

> "Praises are to thee when they the creatures of Amen all say . . .
> Praises to thee, for thou restest in us,
> Obeisance to thee, for that thou didst form us,
> Hail to thee from all flocks,
> Acclamations to thee from every land,
> To the height of heaven, to the width of earth,
> To the depth of the sea." [1]

Amen-Ra is depicted under the form of a man, with two tall feathers on his head, which rise from a stiff cap having the horns of a ram curled over the ears. He holds the sceptre and the "ankh," or symbol of life, in his hand. At Thebes a live

[1] Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians.*

ram was kept in the temple, and was held sacred and revered as being the reincarnation of this god.

The goddess Mut was the wife of Amen-Ra and daughter of Ra. She is entitled "The Lady of Heaven," and "The Eye of Ra." She is represented with a head-dress in the form of a vulture surmounted by the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt. The vulture as a hieroglyphic sign means Mut, or Mother. She is sometimes seen with a sheep's head, in honour of her husband Amen-Ra, and in other places with the vulture's outstretched wings guarding the cradle of the Nile, the source of which is defended by a serpent. It was at Karnak that she was chiefly worshipped, where a beautiful temple was built by Amenhetep III. in her honour; she is there called "The Lady of Asher," from the name of that part of Thebes where her temple stood.

Khnem, or Knufis, the ram-headed god, whose horns project straight from the head, is named the "Creator" or "Modeller." He made men by turning them on a potter's wheel, and he also made a beautiful woman—"the essence of all the gods was in her." He created fowls, fishes, animals, and all creeping things in pairs. The asp was sacred to Khnem, and he often wears it upon his head, or the asp is shown rising between his horns. He was worshipped in Middle Egypt, at Elephantine, in the country of Ethiopia, and at Heliopolis. His wife was Hekt, the frog-headed goddess, who was worshipped as the first living creature in the Nile Valley. Sati was also wife to Khnem, and was placed with him and the goddess Anukt in the triad of Elephantine.

Min and Khem are both names of the god of generation. He is almost always represented with the high feathers of Amen-Ra, and the flail, or flagellum, of Osiris. He has many attributes, and was worshipped throughout Egypt. He is considered by Petrie to have been introduced from Punt. Under the name Min he was worshipped as the "God of the Harvest," principally at Koptos and Panopolis.

Sekhet (or more correctly Sekhemet) was the wife of Ptah; she is typical of the scorching, destructive power of the sun, and carries a knife in her hand wherewith to destroy the wicked in the next world. She has the head of a lioness or cat, and was especially honoured at Memphis. Bast (now read Ubastet), her sister, "The Lady of Life," represents the milder rays of the sun, and is also drawn as a woman, carrying a musical sistrum in her hand, and with the head of a lioness or cat. The saying, "kindly as Bast and terrible as Sekhet," which is inscribed in the temple of Isis at Philæ, refers to these two sisters. Bast was principally worshipped at Bubastis, in the Delta. Herodotus

gives a long account of this goddess, and says: "Here is a temple of Bubastis deserving of mention; other temples are larger and more magnificent, but none more beautiful than this. Two separate canals lead from the Nile to the entrance, which, diverging to the right and left, surround the temple; they are 100 feet broad, and are planted with trees. A yearly festival is held here in her honour. They go in boats crowded with men and women playing the flute and crotala, or cymbals, clapping their hands and singing; the people in the town dance and make sacrifices, amid much feasting." Another animal sacred to Bast was the shrew-mouse, supposed to be blind and unable to bear the full light of the sun.

Statues in black basalt of Bast have been found at Bubastis; they are very similar in form to those of Sekhet in the temple of Mut, at Karnak. Nefer-Tum was the son of one of these sisters; he wears a lotus on his head, and is connected with the Resurrection, and appears in the Memphite Triad.

The goddess Hathor, the "Great Mother," and protectress of earthly mothers, was good and beautiful, lovely and gentle, the goddess of love and joy; her names are innumerable. She is represented as a woman, with a head-ornament of cow's horns; for the divine Cow was her symbol. She is often shown standing at the western gate of the tomb to feed and protect the mummy as it enters the kingdom of the Under World. The worship of Hathor is very ancient, and was carried on in many temples. Her principal temple, built by the Ptolemies and Romans, is at Dendera, and magnificent ceremonies took place there. At Abu Simbel there is a beautiful group of Hathor as a cow, where the king and queen are offering libations and flowers to her standing in a sacred boat. She is there called "The Lady of Abushak, the Foreign Land," and "The Land of the West or Setting Sun." In the ancient story, "The Doomed Prince," seven Hathors are introduced at the birth of the child to bring him good wishes and presents, like the fairy godmothers of European folk-lore, and in "The Tale of the Two Brothers" they assist at the creation of the wife of Batu.

Neith was worshipped as the goddess of Art and Learning, and also as the mother of Ra. She is depicted as a tall, graceful woman, wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, and as inventor of the art of weaving bears the sign of a shuttle on her head; she also carries bows and arrows in her hand. The chief centre of her worship during the XXVII Dynasty was at Saïs, in the Delta. She is supposed to be of Libyan origin, as the Libyans used a shuttle as a device, and is connected with Sebek, the Crocodile god, being sometimes represented as

nursing two of these creatures. Neith is considered to be the goddess of the air and of the three seasons, spring, summer, and winter.

Maat, the goddess of truth and justice, was not worshipped in any particular temple. She wears a large ostrich feather, the emblem of truth, on her head; this feather was weighed in the balance against the heart of the deceased. On monuments or mummy-cases the name of the dead person was followed by the two hieroglyphic signs, Maa kheru, which mean that the individual had passed the ordeal of judgment by Truth, and was called "Justified," or "The True of Voice." Judges when trying cases held a small figure of the goddess Maat in their hands, and touched the persons acquitted with it, to show that they had won their cause.[1]

Set, Sutekh, or Typhon,[2] the god born on the third epagomenal day, was looked upon as a very evil god. Bad air, bad seasons, unwholesome food, eclipses of the sun and moon, and all wicked deeds were ascribed to him. The people used to make offerings to propitiate him, but in the XIX Dynasty his worship ceased, and his name was scratched out of all monuments, as he came to be despised as much as he had formerly been feared. He was painted red—a mark of hatred. The ass is supposed to be an emblem of Set, although the curious beast's head given to him is a purely imaginary one. Whenever any great misfortune or trouble came, an ass with its ears cut square was thrown over a precipice near Koptos. Set was the essence of all things bad, as Osiris of all things good. The birthday of Set was unlucky, and no business was transacted or journeys made on that day.

Taur, or Taurt, the goddess of Evil, is a frightful figure of a fat woman with a head and tail, sometimes of a hippopotamus, sometimes of a crocodile; her one good quality was that she assisted Hathor when presiding at births, and stood beside her at the western doors of the tombs, possibly awaiting the second birth into the Under World.

Another god was Bes, who was a most extraordinary creature. He stands on crooked legs, dressed in a large skin with its tail hanging down behind him. He has huge ears and a great beard, and in paintings stands full face with his tongue hanging out, and on his head a cap with tall feathers. He was said to come from Punt; his head-dress resembles that of the goddess Anukt. Sometimes he carries a great knife

[1] See page 30.

[2] "Typhoon" is the name given to a sudden whirlwind. "Tupham" is the Arabic word for deluge, and "Tai fung" the Chinese for a great wind.

and a shield, and is called the god of Death, War, and Battles. He is seen at one time as an old man, and at another with the long lock of hair which is the symbol of youth. As the guardian of infants, he is supposed to amuse them by his funny figure, and is seen carrying a little baby on his shoulder, and in his hand a cup of food. On the walls of the temple of Dêr el Bahari, where Queen Hatshepsut is sitting with her son Thothmes in her arms, Bes is close by, holding the emblems of Life, Stability, Health, and Joy towards the child. On each side of him stand other gods and goddesses presenting the same emblems to the infant king. He is the protector of Horus, the young Sun god, and slays Apepi, the Serpent of Darkness, with his great knife, or strangles it in his hand. The seat of his oracle in Roman times was at Abydos.

The jackal-headed god Anubis is called "The Guardian of the Tombs" and "Opener of the Way," under the name of Up-uat. He had the special charge of embalming, and in the Judgment Hall held the balance on which was weighed the heart against the feather of truth. Anubis was also guide of the roads of the north and south. Wooden figures of Anubis were often placed on the lids of the mummy-cases in the tombs.

Sebek, the Crocodile god, personifies the destroying power of the sun, and was worshipped at Ombos (Kom Ombo), and had a shrine in that temple. At Dendera this god was so hated that it is said that a battle took place between the people of this city and those of another Ombos, a town on the plain a few miles distant. In this fight many persons lost their lives. Sebek was a deity of Thebes, and was also honoured at Tanis, where Petrie found evidences of his worship. There he was more or less identified with Set, or Sutekh. At Crocodilopolis, in the Fayûm, the priests kept tame crocodiles, which they fed with bread and wine. Pilgrims came to see them, and brought offerings of earrings, rings, and bracelets wherewith to decorate them. There are large cave tombs near Maâbdeh, opposite Manfalût, where thousands of mummied crocodiles have been unearthed.

The god of the Nile, or Hapi, is usually depicted as a fat creature, half man and half woman, of a blue colour, with a bunch of lotus flowers on the head, and papyrus stalks and water-plants in the hand, holding a jar from whence water pours out, which is typical of the inundation of the Nile. It was thought very necessary to appease this deity with festivals, for fear the gifts should be withheld; the principal one took place at Memphis, in the month of Thoth. It is curious that the name Hapi should mean "blue," and that one of the branches

of the Nile should be called the "Blue" Nile. In the temple of Luxor he is figured as a god with two children sitting on his arm, one painted red, the other blue.

There are several beautiful hymns to Hapi; from one written in the XIX Dynasty the following lines are taken:—

"Blessed be the good god, the Nu (heaven) loving Nile,
The father of the gods of the Holy Nine
Dwelling on the Waters. The Plenty, Wealth, and Food of Egypt.
He maketh everybody live by himself.
Riches are on his path and plenteousness is in his fingers.
The pious are rejoiced at his coming.
Thou art alone and self-created.
One knoweth not whence thou art,
But on the day thou comest forth
And openest thyself, everybody is rejoicing.
Thou art the lord of many fishes and gifts,
And thou bestowest plenteousness on Egypt.
. . . . . .
Shine forth, O Nile! giving life to his oxen by the pastures.
Shine forth in glory, O Nile!"[1]

Thoth, or Tahuti, was the "God of Letters" and "Scribe of the Gods." He was one of the lunar deities, and was connected with divisions of times and seasons. He is often seen carrying in his hand a staff marked with the cubit with which he measured the world, and hence was called "The Measurer." He invented numbers, and counted the duration of "millions of years." The first month of the year was dedicated to him. As scribe to the gods, he is seen with a reed and writing-tablet. All their sacred books, charms, and formulæ, besides books on magic and medicines, and letters to the gods on earth and to those in the Under World, were written by him. He was stationed with Anubis at the entrance to the Under World to lead the souls of the departed through the Hall of Judgment, and to record in writing all their good and evil deeds.

The Cynocephalus, or Ape, "Opener of the Way," was one of the emblems of Thoth. The ibis was also sacred to him, and he is always represented with the head of that bird. His chief temple was at Hermopolis, where many mummies of the ibis are found.

Khensu is a deity very similar to Thoth, though represented with the hawk's head surmounted with the lunar disk. He is the "Traverser," or "Messenger," and is sometimes called Khensu Thoth. His great temple is at Thebes, begun by Rameses III., and finished in the XXI Dynasty.

Ŷmhetep, or "Coming in Peace," is always seen as a seated

[1] Budge, *Dwellers on the Nile.*

figure holding a scroll of papyrus on his knee. He practised medicine and magic, and recited formulæ.[1] He was worshipped till a late period as Æskulapios by the Greeks.

Osiris (Asar), "Lord of the Under World" and "Judge of the Dead," is one of the principal gods of Egypt, and his worship, with that of his wife Isis, lasted till a very late period of history; his birthday was kept as a festival, and was the day of the first rising of the Nile. He was the son of Geb, the father of the gods, and was born on the first epagomenal day. His titles are endless,—"The Manifester of Good," "The Benevolent and Beneficent Power," "The Lord of Life," etc. etc.,—and he is given 49 names in the Book of the Dead. He is said to have been born a king, and when he was 28 years old he travelled through the world seeking to do good, teaching the people agriculture and giving them laws. Set, who hated him, determined to capture him, and invited him to a great feast, where he showed him a beautiful chest which he said he would give to any one who could get into it. Many tried to do so and failed, but it fitted Osiris exactly, and he lay down in it. It was then quickly closed upon him and carried away, with the help of seventy-two men, and thrown into the Nile, where it floated down the Tanitic branch, which in consequence is still held in abhorrence. It floated ashore at Byblos, where it was caught in a tree and concealed among its branches. This tree was hewn down and used by the king of that land as a pillar in his palace.

When Isis heard of this, her grief was so great that she cut off a lock of her hair and put on mourning at Koptos, the City of Mourning, and went to Byblos. There she gained permission to take down the pillar and carry it off to her son Horus; but Set found it, opened the coffin, and tore the body in 14 pieces, distributing them all over the country, the head being at Abydos. Isis never rested till she had found all the pieces of Osiris' body, and at each place where a portion was discovered built a temple in his honour, where he was continually worshipped as "King of the Under World." Osiris' life was held as a pattern for others, and to show that, though all men must die, their good deeds and virtues live after them, while they themselves are rewarded in a future state. Osiris is represented as swathed in burial wrappings, his crossed hands holding the flail and crook, symbols of sovereignty and dominion, and wearing on his head a crown like that of Upper Egypt, with feathers at each side.

Isis (Ast), wife of Osiris, usually appears as a woman wear-

[1] See page 32.

ing a head-dress in the form of a throne, or with the horns of Hathor and the disk of the sun. Sometimes she holds a staff or sceptre, at others a lotus or a roll of papyrus; again she is shown seated on her throne with her son Horus on her knee. Isis was often worshipped with her child Horus, who was called the "young" or "rising" sun. This form of Isis with Horus on her knee was familiar down to Roman times, and even to early Christian days, when the representation may have suggested the portrayal of the Virgin and Child. Herodotus calls Isis the greatest of all the Egyptian gods or goddesses. She was considered to be the presiding deity of the inundation through her connection with Sirius, or the "Dog Star," on the day of whose appearing the waters of the Nile began to rise.[1] Her festivals were very magnificent; special mystical rites were performed and great honour paid to her till very late times. The principal temples of Isis and Osiris were at Philæ and Abydos. The ceremonies were conducted in secret, and so sacred were they at Philæ, that no one was permitted to visit that holy island without permission during the celebration of the great mysteries. She was a favourite goddess, and was a true type of a good mother and wife. She had many titles—"Mother of Nature," "The Shining One," "The Mother Goddess," etc. According to Diodorus, she thus describes herself:—

"I am Isis, Queen of the country, educated by Thoth.
What I have decreed no one can annul.
I am the eldest daughter of Geb, the eldest of the gods.
I am the sister and wife of King Osiris.
I am the first who taught men the use of corn.
I am the mother of Horus: I am she who rises in the Dog Star.
Rejoice, O Egypt! which hast been to me a Nurse!"

It is said that the soul of Isis was transferred after death to Sirius, which is called "Sothis" by the Egyptians. Isis with her sister Nephtys stand beside Osiris when he judges the dead. Nephtys is emblematic of the twilight; she is called "Lady of the House," and wears on her head a curious pillar, surmounted by a basket. The sisters are often pictured standing as protectors of, and mourners for the dead.

The two goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt—Nekhebyt the Vulture, and Uazyt the Asp—are seated side by side on two horizons when they form part of the royal title. The Vulture wears the crown and plumes of Upper Egypt, and has outspread wings like the beetle Horbehutet. The Asp wears the crown of Lower Egypt, and is also winged.

A Triad was a combination of 3 gods — 2 greater and

[1] See page 33, "Ancient People."

1 lesser—such as Amen the father, Mut the mother, and Khensu the son. This was called the Theban Triad. At Memphis the Triad consisted of Ptah the creator, Sekhemet the scorching sun, and Ŷmhetep, the god of healing; at Kom Ombo, of Sebek, Hathor, and Khensu; at Elephantine, of Khnem, Sati, and Anukt; and in other places also a trinity of gods was worshipped. This combination was afterwards increased to a circle of 9 gods or 3 Triads—the number 9 being considered perfection by the Egyptians, as well as by other ancient nations. The 9 gods collectively worshipped were Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Nephtys, Set, and Horus, and were called an Ennead. These gods of the Ennead varied in different places, and the number also was sometimes reduced to 8, or 4 pairs.

After intercourse with foreign nations, new gods were introduced, but they never became widely worshipped in Egypt. Strong and brave men were compared with Baal (the god of the Sun disk), as was Rameses II. at Edfu. Astarte, the Syrian goddess, was worshipped in certain temples as a Moon goddess, and an interesting papyrus exists with her name repeated several times, but unfortunately it is so fragmentary that little history can be gleaned from it. She is supposed to have been introduced in the Hyksos Dynasties, as she is called "Protector of Horses," these animals not being used in Egypt before that date.[1] Syrian gods and goddesses were also introduced, such as Reshep, of Phœnician origin, and others.

We have now mentioned the principal gods worshipped in Egypt, but there are many lesser ones, some bad and some good, who had their own especial attributes and forms. Confusion often arises from the frequent interchange of attributes among the gods at different periods and in different places, it being only possible to determine their identity by reading the hieroglyphs connected with their representations, whether on their statues or on wall paintings and religious papyri.

PART II.—MYTHS

"A dark yet mighty faith."
SHELLEY: *Prometheus.*

The original legends of the gods of Egypt gradually became interwoven with various myths, although the curious play upon words, or "punning," found in the language in which they are

[1] See page 426.

told, shows that they are not of a very remote origin, but were probably invented to account for older names and traditions which in course of time had become obscured. In some myths the ideas are so far-fetched as to be almost incomprehensible, but they all tend to show the triumph of light or good over darkness or evil, as well as the power of the supreme solar deity—a theme which is embodied in religious myths throughout the world.

Many myths exist, but the following are considered as the most important:—

THE MYTH OF RĀ.[1]

(From a Papyrus in Turin.)

When the god Ra was old, Isis, who wished to gain power for herself by learning the secret name of the god, made a sacred serpent out of the Earth, which she threw on the path of Ra when he travelled through his Double Kingdom. The serpent bit him, and the god uttered a great cry which all the gods heard in Heaven, and called out, "What is it?" and Ra cried, "Come to me, ye gods; a painful thing has injured me. Never felt I pain like this. I know not who has done it. . . . I had come forth to look on that which I had made, when something stung me. Fire it is not. Water it is not. My limbs tremble. . . ."

Then Isis came with her magic arts, and said, "What is it, divine father? Thy creature hath lifted up his head against thee. . . . I will cause it to recede at sight of thy rays. . . . Tell me thy name, O father; for he shall live who is delivered from the ill by his own name."

Then Ra told her all the things that he had created, and how the Nile rose at his command; but he told her not his name,[2] therefore the poison remained in his blood. And Isis replied, "Thy name is not mentioned in thy speech; tell it to me, that the poison may go hence. . . ." But the poison was not turned in its course, . . . and it burned with burning stronger than the flame of fire. . . . So the god Ra left his sacred bark and hid himself, and the bark of eternity was empty, and he said, "I grant that Isis search me; my name shall pass from my bosom into her bosom."

Then said Isis to Horus, "He shall give up his eyes, the Sun and Moon," and so the great god's name was taken from him;

[1] Wiedemann, *Religion of Ancient Egypt*, page 54; and Wiedemann's article in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

[2] See page 83, "Book of the Dead."

and, Isis cried, "Let Ra live, let the poison die." Thus spake Isis, the Great One, "she who knoweth Ra and his name itself."

These last words were supposed to have magic power, and were used as a charm against snake-bites, either recited over an image of Tûm, Horus, or Isis, or being written down, they were dissolved in a concoction and drunk, or they were inscribed on a piece of linen and worn round the neck.

THE MYTH OF THE DESTRUCTION OF MANKIND.[1]

(*From the tombs of* SETI I. *and* RAMESES III.)

It is said that Ra, the great king over gods and men, called together the gods of the firmament in secret, and took counsel with them, because mankind had seen that he was growing old and feeble, and had conspired against him. Then he spake before Nu, the father of the oldest gods, saying, "Tell me what would you do in the face of this? I will not slay mankind until I have heard what ye say concerning it."

Then the gods answered, "Send forth thine eye; let it destroy the people which imagined wicked plots against thee. . . ." Then went forth the goddess Hathor, and she slew mankind upon the hills, and for several nights the goddess Sekhemet also waded in the blood of men. . . . Then spake Ra, "Call unto me swift messengers; let them run like a blast of wind." And the messengers came, and Ra said, "Bring me mandragora in quantity"; and the priestesses poured the juice of the mandragora into vases mixed with the blood of men, and there were 7000 pitchers of drink; and Ra said, "It is well done by this stratagem. I shall now protect men from the goddess Sekhemet";[2] and Ra ordered in the night to pour out this healing drink over the place where men were lying slaughtered, and the fields overflowed. In the morning the goddess came and drank of the mixture, and became dazed, so could not recognise men. Thus Ra saved mankind from the wrath of Sekhemet. But soon Ra repented having stayed the slaughter, and was much grieved because of his weakness, so he rode away on the Cow of heaven to the abode of Hathor; and mankind repented of having conspired against him, and they followed him, and they helped Ra to destroy his enemies; he forgave them, saying, "Your crime is forgiven you; destruction of enemies removes destruction; I have determined to be uplifted into the sky and renounce

[1] See page 69, "Book of the Dead."

[2] Or Sekhet.

the world." So he rose to the upper regions, there to create a future abode for man. And Ra said, "Let there be set a great field"; and there appeared the "Field of Rest" full of plants. And Ra said, "Therein do I gather as its inhabitants the stars of Heaven." Then Nut (the sky) trembled, and the stars fell into the land which Ra had made, and there appeared millions of beings. Then Ra said, "O my son Shu, unite thyself with my daughter Nut, and watch for me over the millions of millions who tarry there in darkness." So Shu was installed by the Old Sun as the New. Then Ra called Seb, and said, "Watch over the reptiles of land and water. Let them know that I go hence, but I shall shine upon them." Next Ra called Thoth, and spake, "Let us go, leaving Heaven and my dwelling, for I will make a luminary in the Land of the Deep. There shalt thou register those who did wicked deeds as inhabitants, and there shalt thou imprison them. . . . I give thee power to send forth messengers"; and thereupon the Ibis of Thoth came into being. . . . "I cause thee to embrace the two heavens, the day and the night sky, with thy beauties"; thereupon the Moon of Thoth came into being. "I cause thee to turn to the people of the north"; thereupon the Cynocephalus of Thoth came into being. "Thou, Thoth, dost now possess my place in the sight of all men who turn themselves towards thee; all creatures extol thee as a god." Thus Ra made Thoth his representative on Earth, and made for him all the creatures to do his will. And Ra joined the blessed gods, and renounced his rule of the world.

The Winged Disk.

(From the Temple of Edfu.)

The legend of the Winged Sun Disk, Horbehutet—an embodiment of Horus, the chief god of Edfu—was of so late a date that it survived even in Christian times, and the idea was adopted in the apocryphal book, of the Journey of Christ into Egypt, when He was said as a child to have triumphantly driven out His pagan foes from the Valley of the Nile.

This legend also describes the conflict of Ra against enemies who conspire against him in his old age. It says that he did not go against them himself, but sent Horbehutet, or Horus, in his place, who for this purpose assumed the form of the sun's disk. Horbehutet successively fought against the hippopotami and crocodiles, and against the serpents whose forms were assumed by the enemies of Ra, and also against Set the god of Evil

himself, and at length was able to drive out all the enemies of the Sun god from the whole of Egypt. This is the reason why the symbol of the Winged Disk is placed at the entrance of all temples and in the Inner Shrine, as it was supposed to keep away evil influences from the holy places. Sometimes it was supplemented with the figures of the serpent goddesses, Nekhebyt and Uazyt, of Upper and Lower Egypt.

PART III.—SACRED ANIMALS

"What manner of thing is your crocodile?
It is shaped, sir, like itself, and is as broad as it has breadth."
SHAKESPEARE: *Antony and Cleopatra*, ACT II. Sc. vii.

The extent of the worship and adoration of animals in Egypt has been a matter of deep discussion for many ages, by the Greeks, the early Christians, and modern historians. In dealing with the subject, the difference must be clearly defined between "the worship of individual animals and the setting apart of certain species as sacred."[1] The bodies of all creatures thus held sacred underwent exactly the same process of embalming after death as those of human beings.

The Egyptians believed that to the souls and bodies of the blessed in the next world, everything would appear the same as in this, with the addition of their being able to leave their resting-place at will, and visit their friends on earth.

To enable them to do this, they could assume any form most convenient for the purpose, and frequently adopted the disguise of an animal. Everything was material to the Egyptian mind, and even the gods took tangible form. The kings themselves were constantly worshipped on earth as embodiments of the gods and addressed as such, but people of lower rank were rarely thus honoured. On monuments where scenes are depicted in which the king is accompanied by any of those gods, these are portrayed with the bodies of human beings and the heads of their emblematic animals. Whether these figures were really human beings and represented the priests, who on these ceremonies may have been adorned with the distinguishing masks of the various gods, or whether they are purely emblematic, is a matter for conjecture.

Animals were chosen which were supposed to be incarnations of different deities, and if they did not perform the duties expected of them, could be beaten and punished, sometimes

[1] Wiedemann, *Religion of Ancient Egypt*.

even by death. All animals were respected and kindly treated by the ancient Egyptians, and it was considered a crime to kill a cat or a dog, as possibly the Ka of some deceased relation or friend had assumed this form when leaving his tomb. Therefore great consideration was shown to all creatures as well as to those worshipped as gods. Each deity had his corresponding animal, bird, reptile, or insect. There were also imaginary beasts to whom the Egyptians gave fancy names. Amongst these was the Phœnix, or "Bennu" bird, supposed to have risen at Heliopolis out of a sacred tamarisk tree surrounded by flames, and was a type of the rising sun, whose rays, shining upon the "burnished gold" of the points of the obelisk, may have originated the legend. It was represented as a heron with two long feathers at the back of its head, and sang so sweetly that the sun himself loved to listen to it. The Phœnix symbolized the Resurrection. The new sun was thought to rise out of the ashes of the old one each day, as the soul springs into new life after the death of the body. The Sphinx, or "Hu," was another imaginary creature, having the body of a lion and the head of a man. Sphinxes were placed at the entrance of temples to guard them from the approach of any evil thing. The Sphinx is one of the manifestations of the Sun god, Ra Harmakhis, "Sun of the Morning," "Banisher of the Mists of the Night." But the most sacred of all animals, whether real or imaginary, was the Apis, or Sacred Bull, the incarnation of Osiris.

The worship of this bull is proved by the Pyramid texts to be anterior to Menes, and is mentioned in the III Dynasty, where, according to the Palermo Stone, the year is called "The year of the first going round of Apis." This cult lasted until the days of the Romans down to the reign of Julian, 361 A.D. We find that in the year 122 A.D., under Hadrian, a statue was dedicated to "Apis Serapis" in Alexandria. The sacred bull was known by certain marks; it was black, with a triangular white spot on its forehead, the pattern of an eagle on its back, double hairs in its tail, and the sign of a beetle in its mouth. When one bull died, it was very difficult to find another with all these marks. Enormous sums were given for them, and the person who discovered one was handsomely rewarded. The cow that was the mother of the bull was also greatly honoured.

The Apis was first taken to Nilopolis, in Lower Egypt, to be trained, and afterwards conveyed by moonlight, in the gilded cabin of a sacred bark, to Memphis, to be kept in the temple of Ptah. He lived in a splendid stable with a courtyard in front of it, where he was visited and consulted as an oracle, and the

questions asked were answered in various ways. Sometimes he was offered food; if he refused it, the omen was bad; if he took it, favourable; and it is said that by his making a peculiar sound when bellowing, the conquest of Egypt by Augustus was foretold. Pliny writes that the "youths who accompanied him sang songs in his honour, which the Apis appeared to understand, and to desire that he should be worshipped." Strabo says, "after he has frisked about a little in the court, he is taken back to his own stall." [1]

When an Apis died, the ceremony of burial was quite as magnificent as that of a king. The early burial-place of the bulls is unknown, but after the XVIII Dynasty they were deposited in the building called the Serapeum, at Sakkara, where their embalmed bodies in large black granite sarcophagi were discovered deeply embedded in the sand by Mariette in 1851.[2]

The death of the Apis did not involve that of the god, as an exact counterpart was found to take its place, and the dead Apis was supposed to go on living for ever as a god in the Under World. This was the case with all deified animals. The sacred ram was kept in a similar manner in the temple of Amen, at Thebes.

Serpent worship, which has found a place in so many religions of the world, figures largely in that of Egypt. There were good and evil serpents, and in the royal tombs at Thebes there are numbers pictured on the walls. Some oppose the progress of the Sun's bark as he sails across the firmament of the Under World, being in their turn assailed by Bes and Taurt. In one instance, Horus, standing upon a winged snake, is attacked by a serpent with arms and legs. The serpent, a personification of spiritual evil, was called Apepi, or Apophis.

Great quantities of mummified creatures are found in various parts of Egypt. Cats are buried near the Speos Artemidos; crocodiles at Maâbdeh; ibis and other birds at Sakkara, and at Ashmûnên, near Roda; beetles, snakes, and certain kinds of fish, have all been found embalmed.

There are eighteen kinds of sacred trees, of which the sycamore seems to be the principal one. Partly hidden in its branches, the goddess Nut is shown, holding in her hand the "ankh," or sign of life, from which a life-giving stream flows to the mouth of the person kneeling in front.

The Persea tree is a kind of bay laurel (*Mimusops Schimperi*) bearing small heart-shaped fruit, the kernels of which are often found in the tombs. It was sacred to Hathor, who is

[1] Strabo, B. xvii. c. i. § 31. [2] See pp. 86–87, "Sources of History."

seen bending out of the tree with a long vase in her hand, from which issue three streams of water. A bird with its human head is holding out its hands to catch the water to drink. In the Persea tree at Heliopolis, the great cat is seen slaying the serpent Apepi, or Darkness.

The goddess Safekht, assisted by Thoth, is shown in the temple of Rameses II. at Kurneh, standing in a sycamore tree inscribing on the leaves the name of the king surrounded by sacred emblems. Culinary vegetables are also proved to have been sacred, and many are found in the tombs.

PART IV.—THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

"I do not know, nor will I vainly question
Those pages of the mystic book which hold
The story still untold."

LONGFELLOW: *Palingenesis.*

The doctrines held by the ancient Egyptians are for the most part set forth in the Book of the Dead, and though the writings are much confused by mysticism, they contain many sublime thoughts and lofty ideas. It is not possible to trace the source of the Book of the Dead, or to state by whom these writings were first introduced into Egypt, but it is certain that it is of pre-Menite origin. The ancients believed them to have been inspired by Osiris, and written down by Thoth. They consist of hymns and stories of the myths of the gods, and prayers, which were to be recited by the priests at the time of the embalming and burial of the dead, and, besides inculcating moral precepts of a very high standard, were intended to assist the passage of the soul from the moment of death until it obtained justification and was admitted into Paradise.

These writings were preserved in the tombs, in order that the deceased might repeat them to certain gods to secure his welfare during his passage to the next world. In the earliest texts as yet come to light, the ideas are set forth that prevailed through all the centuries down to Roman times. It is profoundly interesting to think that the Egyptians had a deep-rooted and well-formulated belief in an immortal existence after death from the most remote ages.

Early religious sayings similar to parts of the Book of the Dead are found engraved on the walls of Pyramid tombs, and are called Pyramid Texts, to distinguish them from those of a later date. The Pyramids of Pepŷ I., Unas, Teta, Mehti-em-sa-ef, and

H.C.

STELA FROM THE TOMB AT ASWAN OF HAQUBU, SON OF MESANU, AND HIS TWO WIVES ANUKIT-KAIT, AND ABUHAIT, STANDING BEFORE AN ALTAR OF OFFERINGS

epŷ II. at Sakkara all contain long hieroglyphic inscriptions these texts; these have been edited and translated by Mas-ero. The Book of the Dead was compiled by the priests at eliopolis (or On), who were the most learned men during the rly Dynasties, from older books of various origins. Several of s chapters have been found in early coffins, generally painted n the inside, and sometimes also on the outside. An early xt on papyrus was a copy written for Nu in the earlier half the XVIII Dynasty. In it there is a rubric stating that the th chapter, or "Coming Forth by Day," belongs to the time of ordedef, a prince of the IV Dynasty, but tradition relates that is chapter and the 130th were written in the time of Hesepti, Usafais, of the I Dynasty. In the XVIII Dynasty, chapters ere often written on papyrus rolls, which were portable and expensive, or on the bands of cloth in which the mummy was vathed. The papyri were placed in the tombs in niches, or metimes loose in the coffin, or bound up with the bands enclosing the body. The greatest number has been found at Thebes, and so many variations from the older texts have been discovered, that this version is known as the "Theban Recension." The hieroglyphs at this date were usually arranged in perpendicular columns, written in black ink and separated by black lines. Each chapter was rubricated much in he same way as mediæval MSS., the title generally being vritten in red.

At this period illustrations were made of the principal sub-ects of the texts, beautifully drawn and painted in colours. Of he XIX Dynasty it is quite the exception to find any without ictures. This art of illumination continued to make progress uring the XX and XXI Dynasties. In the XXII Dynasty nere are many papyri in hieratic script which are very correct, hough those in hieroglyphic characters had greatly deteriorated, ie copying being often left to ignorant persons, who put down hat they saw without regard to the meaning; indeed, M. aville shows in his book on the subject, that in one instance e 77th chapter was copied backwards, making nonsense of nat, when written in the right way, was easy to understand.

In the XXVI Dynasty, 666 B.C., a strong revival took place, d the texts of the Book of the Dead were again much used. his Recension was called the "Saite." It differed from the heban, and glosses were added, which often obscured rather an elucidated the meaning. The texts were chiefly written the hieratic character, and also in demotic. They were oughly executed, not like the beautifully artistic work of the VIII and XIX Dynasties.

About the XXX Dynasty, or 305 B.C., during the Græco-Roman period, the chapters were generally written separately, frequently without pictures.

The size of the papyri on which these texts were written varies very much; some being only a few inches long and very narrow, while others are many feet in length. They were often kept ready prepared, with a space left for the purpose of inserting the name of the deceased, and sometimes even this addition was omitted. One of the most beautiful ever written was the papyrus of Ani and his wife Thuthu, in the XVIII Dynasty. It measures 78 feet by 1 foot 3 inches, and contains 66 chapters. It is in the most perfect preservation, and has been reproduced in facsimile by the British Museum in full-sized plates, and is worthy of careful examination. Part of this papyrus is supposed to have been written by Ani himself, it is so much more carefully drawn than those done by the scribes; but even here there are mistakes, and some portions of chapters are omitted.

About 190 different chapters of the Book of the Dead are known.

The 130th chapter, "Of making perfect the Khu which is (to be recited) on the Birthday of Osiris, and of making to live the Soul for Ever." Some verses may be quoted, translated from the papyrus of Nu:—

"O ye divine beings, do ye away with his sorrow and his suffering and his pain, and may the sorrows of the Osiris (Nu) be altogether put away. . . .
Let him sail on happily, and let Thoth put light into his heart,
Then shall the Osiris (Nu) triumphant, praise and glorify Ra, and he shall hearken unto his words, and beat down the obstacles that come from his enemies. . . .
The divine chiefs guide him and give him a passage in the boat with gladness. . . .
Right and Truth are exalted, and they have come to their divine Lord. . . ."[1]

The 64th chapter is called "The Chapter of Coming Forth by Day into the Under World," and begins thus (according to the version written for Nebseni, XVIII Dynasty):—

"I am yesterday, to-day and to-morrow,
I have power to be born a second time.
I am the divine, hidden soul who created the gods and who giveth celestial meals to the denizens of Duat (Under World) and Amentet (Heaven). . . .

[1] Budge, *Book of the Dead.*

To the Mighty One hath His Eye been given and it sendeth forth light from His face when the Earth becometh light. . . .

Happy, yea happy is he that looked upon the funeral couch which hath come to its place of rest upon the happy day of the god whose heart resteth, who maketh his place of alighting thereon. . . ."[1]

The most remarkable chapter of all is the 125th, describing the judgment of the soul before Osiris. The first part is an address to be said by the soul when he "cometh forth triumphant into the Hall of double Maati, so that he may be separated from every sin which he hath done, and may behold the faces of the gods." The second part contains "The Negative Confession," in which the soul is judged, and answers all the charges brought against him. He declares among other things that he has not "taken away the bread of offering of the gods," nor "turned aside the water at the time of inundation"; prefacing his words with an invocation to some special deity:—

"Hail! thou who stridest along and comest forth from Anu (Heliopolis), I have not done iniquity. . . .

Hail! thou disposer of speech that comest forth from the city of Unes, I have not stirred up strife. . . .

Hail! Basti, who comest forth from the secret city, I have caused no man to weep. . . .

Hail! thou who eatest shades, who comest forth from the place where the Nile rises, I have not committed theft. . . ."[2]

In this way he replies to the great company of gods, and answers in the negative the questions put to him by the 42 witnesses, who are supposed to represent the 42 nomes of Egypt.

In the third part of the chapter, the soul, having been found righteous and sinless, invokes the gods by the titles which it has learned, and is given the name of Osiris in addition to its own, showing that the soul has become merged in that deity.

In most papyri there is a picture of the scene in the Judgment Hall of the double Maati, or Right and Truth, where the heart of the deceased is placed in the balance against the feather of truth. On each side of the dead man stand the goddesses of his birth and death; his soul "Ba" hovering above in the form of a bird with a human head. Anubis, the jackal or guardian of the tomb, adjusts the scales to see if they are correct, and Thoth the scribe stands with his scroll and pen in his hand, ready to write down the judgment of Osiris. Be-

[1] Budge, *Book of the Dead.* [2] *Ibid.*

hind him is a great beast called Amam, the Devourer, waiting to eat up the guilty one, should his heart be weighed in the balance and found wanting. In front is Horus, who takes the deceased by the hand and leads him into the presence of Osiris, who is seated on his throne, supported at the back by Isis and Nephtys, and the Amenti, or judges, standing on a lotus. When the dead person has answered all questions put to him satisfactorily, he makes his final confession, in which he sums up his good works, among them stating that he "has given bread to the hungry man, and water to the thirsty man, and apparel to the naked man, and a boat to the shipwrecked mariner,"—deeds closely resembling those enjoined on Christians.[1] He is then called "Maa kheru," or "Justified," and Horus says, "Grant him to enter into Thy presence, and may he be like the followers of Horus for ever."

The 110th chapter concerns the Elysian Fields, or "Fields of Aalu, or Peace." In the papyri, the souls are pictured among these fields, through which a river flows. They are represented as seated in a boat paddling with oars, and also as sowing, reaping, leading cattle, and enjoying all the pleasures of life in a land where crops never fail, and every good thing is provided for their happiness.

There are very many chapters on curious subjects, such as the 31st chapter, "The Chapter of driving away the Crocodile that cometh to carry away the charm from the Deceased"; the 45th chapter, of "not suffering corruption in the Under World"; chapter 178, "of raising up the dead body," and the 89th, "of causing the soul to be united to its body in the Under World," showing the belief in the immortality of the soul and the eventual resurrection of the carefully preserved mummy, which the words of this chapter were used to ensure.

Several formulæ were, according to the rubrics, to be repeated by the soul to enable it to assume various animate forms, and thus pass freely from the Under World "to see his house upon earth."

Chapter 17 contains a curious commentary by the gods on their own attributes and utterances in the form of question and answer, such as "Who then is this?" "It is Ra, when at the beginning he was in the city of Henen-seten (Heracleopolis Magna), crowned like a king in his rising." Or, "Who then is this?" "I am yesterday, I know to-day"; and so on through many questions.[2]

The 43rd chapter, "Of not letting the head of a man be cut off from him in the Under World," refers to the Myth of

[1] St. Matthew xxv. 35, 36.

[2] Budge, *Book of the Dead*.

Osiris. It says: "The head of Osiris was not taken away from him. I have knit myself together; I have made myself whole and complete." The 50th chapter alludes to the same subject; and chapter 66, called "The Chapter of the Pillow," ends with the words, "Thy head shall never be carried away from thee."[1] In the 92nd chapter, the soul "Ba," the shadow "Khaibet," and the spirit "Khu," are all mentioned. The 15th chapter contains hymns to Osiris and to Ra at his rising and setting, ending with—

> "Homage to Thee, O Creator of the gods!
> Thou King of the North and of the South.
> O Osiris, Victorious One! Ruler of the world in Thy gracious seasons.
> Thou art the Lord of the Celestial World!
> O grant Thou unto me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true.
> I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit."[2]

Chapters 140 to 143 give a very full list of the gods. Sixty-two names are given for Osiris. One of the best versions is in the papyrus of "Nu," in the British Museum, and, according to Naville, chapter 142 in the Turin "Todtenbuch" begins, "Chapter whereby the deceased acquireth might, whereby is given him to go and to widen his steps, coming forth by day in all the forms he likes, knowing the names of Osiris in all the places he likes to be." The deceased was not allowed to enter the Hall of the double Maati unless he could give the names of the guardians of the various portals through which he had to pass, the secret name of "Ren" being that given. "Ren" means literally "name."

The Book of the Dead is a wonderful work. Even from this short sketch it will be seen that a study of it will well repay the curious. Scholars have done much to elucidate its mysteries, though a great part of the symbolism is still extremely obscure.

The book called "Am Duat," or "The Book of the Under World," is an important collection of Sepulchral Texts. It resembles in many points the Book of the Dead, and was the book principally used by those initiated to the rites of Amen-rā during the XXI and XXII Dynasties, of which date many papyri have been found in the tombs of the priests of Amen, at Thebes. The text is found on the sarcophagus of Nekhtanebus I., B.C. 369, now in the British Museum, and on most large sarcophagi of Saitic times. It relates to the journeys of the Sun god through the Under World at night, and describes

See page 69.

[2] Budge, *Book of the Dead.*

12 divisions through which he passed, each guarded by a strong door. A river ran through the midst, on the banks of which the bark of the Sun god encountered demons and spirits in various forms. On entering the first compartment he had to pass the Cynocephali, who opened the gates, and the other guardians of each of the 12 divisions of the night, until in the 12th hour he encountered "Khepera," the god of the new Morning Sun, who accompanied him to the eastern horizon, where the new day would break.

"The Book of Gates" is very similar to the "Am Duat," as it treats of the passage of the Sun god through the night. The progress of the Sun and the ceremonies enjoined are described very minutely. At the end of the 12th hour the souls remaining in darkness mourn and lament, but Isis and Nephtys sit at the last gate to protect the young Sun god and speed him on his way.

Another series of texts appeared, called "The Book of Breathings," founded on the Book of the Dead. It is found on tombs as late as the fourth century A.D.

Other religious writings are, "The Book of the Overthrowing of Apepi," "The Lamentations of Isis and Nephtys," "The Festival Songs of Isis and Nephtys," and "The Litanies of Seker."

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CHAPTER IV

SOURCES OF HISTORY

"That is the chain of ages which maintains
Their obvious correspondence, and unites
Most distant periods in one blest design."
YOUNG: *Night Thoughts.*

THE history of Egypt has been handed down to us in a wonderful manner. From the inscriptions called "stelæ," carved on the mountains and rocks, various historical facts have been gathered, and the accounts of the mighty deeds of the Pharaohs are engraved on the walls of many of the temples. In the tombs, which it was customary for the Egyptians to make for themselves in their lifetime, they inscribed their own histories, and often incidentally mentioned the king in whose reign they lived, and the manners and customs of the day can be gleaned from the pictures on the walls. The very earliest records were written on stone; then followed writings on papyrus, the earliest of which dates from King Assa, of the V Dynasty. They were in hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts, and later in demotic characters. All kinds of subjects are mentioned in papyri; many are legal documents, others give accounts of battles, pillage and robberies, or legends, stories, and personal narratives, from which the history of the time is gathered. Small broken pieces of pottery were also used for making short notes or contracts, and are often picked up on ancient sites. These form interesting records, and are called "Ostraka."

The first historian that we know of who visited Egypt was Herodotus, who wrote an account of his journey in Greek, 450 B.C. His description of the country is trustworthy, but his history, though very amusing, is not always to be believed, as many of his statements were founded on legends current at the time. Two hundred years afterwards, an Egyptian priest of Heliopolis, called Manetho, meaning "The Beloved of Thoth," wrote a history in Greek during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, about 263 B.C. Unfortunately, the greater part of

this work is lost, but some portions were copied by Flavius Josephus in the first century A.D., by Julius Africanus 221 A.D., and by others, and thus preserved. The most valuable portion of Manetho's History handed down to us by Josephus is his list of kings, formerly considered doubtful, but which recent discoveries have proved to be fairly correct. He gives a period of 3555 years as the duration of the 31 Dynasties quoted by Syncellus of Byzantium. Diodorus Siculus himself treated of the Egyptians in one section of his lengthy but scarcely reliable work, and much information on their social life is obtained from it. Strabo, the Greek geographer, after visiting Egypt in the year 24 B.C., wrote a description of the country, which is to be found in his geographical history. Of early records, perhaps the most important is the inscription on a fragment of a diorite block discovered and first described by Pelligrini, now preserved in the Museum at Palermo, and called the Palermo Stone.[1] It proves to be the annals of some of the early kings, and appears to have been written in the V Dynasty. It commences with a list of the pre-dynastic kings of Lower Egypt; the names, though almost impossible to decipher, differ from those kings of the Upper country whose tombs were found at Abydos. It mentions various important events between the I and V Dynasties, enumerating 13 kings in all, some of whom have been identified, and enabling the length of their reigns to be fairly approximated. It also gives, in cubits, spans, and fingers the heights reached by the Nile each year.

One of the most interesting documents is the Turin Papyrus, which was sold to that Museum by Drovetti, the French Consul at Alexandria in 1804. It contains a list of kings, and was written in hieratic in the time of Rameses the Great, 1300 B.C. Had it been perfect, it would indeed have been a treasure, but it is much mutilated, and many kings' names are missing. The list, after enumerating a dynasty of gods, begins with Menes, and ends apparently at the XVIII Dynasty. Two long lists of the kings were discovered carved on the wall of the temple of Abydos.[2] These contain the names of 76 kings, from Menes to Seti I. Another similar inscription, now in Paris, of the date of Thothmes III., giving the names of many kings, was found in the Hall of Ancestors at Karnak. At Sakkara there is a list giving the names of 58 kings. The small stelæ found in the Apis Mausoleum there, but now mostly removed to Paris by Mariette, are also valuable because, as they

[1] Schäffer, Borchardt, & Sethe, *Ein Bruchstück Altægyptischer Annalen*, Berlin, 1902.

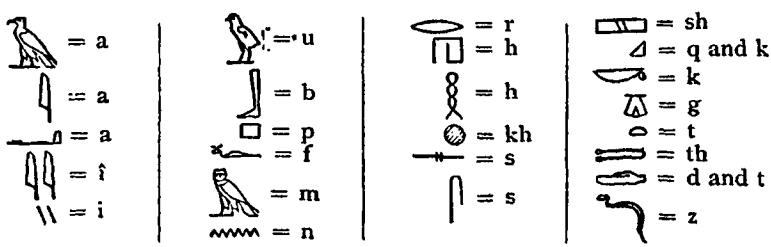
[2] One in 1820, the other in 1865.

give the exact years in a king's reign when the bulls were born and when they were buried, it is possible from these data to work out the length of some of the kings' reigns. There are many other papyri which assist in tracing the history of Egypt; the largest known is the Great Harris Papyrus. It records the gifts which Rameses III., 1225 B.C., made to the gods and temples of Egypt, and is written in hieratic. It was found at Medinet Habu, at Thebes, and is now in the British Museum. It measures 135 feet in length and 17 inches in width.

The Egyptian language in which all these inscriptions and papyri are written was imported from the East, and is now regarded as belonging to the Semitic family of speech. In Egypt it became mixed with the language (or languages) of the aborigines, which may be called African, but none of the modern African dialects are akin to it,[1] though the Berber languages show similarities of grammar. Between the times of the earliest and late Dynasties the Egyptian tongue changed profoundly, and during the age of the XVIII to the XX Dynasties it borrowed much from the Canaanitish. Coptic is the modern representative of ancient Egyptian, to which it bears much the same relation as the Romance languages do to Latin, but, unlike them, it practically ceased to be spoken about 200 years ago, though in one of the districts of Upper Egypt it seems to have lingered on almost to the present day. It is preserved in the liturgy of the Coptic Church, and is employed in the performance of the services, but only some of the priests and educated Copts understand it, Arabic having entirely superseded it among the rest of the community.

The ancient Egyptians employed hieroglyphs for the written form of their language.

THE EGYPTIAN ALPHABET, WITH METHOD OF TRANSLITERATION USED IN THE PRESENT VOLUME.



This word "hieroglyph" comes from the Greek, and means "sacred sculpture." It was called so by those who, seeing the

[1] Recent discoveries rather disprove this.

strange signs and figures that were carved on the stones and not understanding what they meant, believed that they were invocations to the gods, which in some cases was true, as most of the texts on the tombs and temples are addressed to them. Hieroglyphs consist of picture-signs of the objects they wish to represent. It is impossible to say in what age these carvings and writings were first used. There is no record of the people who originally employed them, nor whence they came; it is conjectured only that it was from some part of western Asia; but the use of this writing was perfected in Egypt itself, and continued to be the written language of the people till about a hundred years before Christ, when it gradually became supplanted by the Coptic characters, which were derived from the Greek, with a few additional letters borrowed from the Demotic. Sometimes the hieroglyphic characters were cut into the stone or wood; at others, the ground was cut away, leaving them in high relief. They were often painted in brilliant colours after being carved, or were merely painted on wood, stone, plaster, papyrus, or other material. These picture-signs are most delicately executed, and some early specimens, dating as far back as the IV Dynasty, are as beautifully carved as those of any later period. For centuries people tried to find out what these strange signs might mean, without success; but in 1797, Zoega proved that royal names were always placed in oval frames, called "cartouches";[1] and two years later came the discovery of the famous Rosetta Stone by Boussard, a French artillery officer who was with the army of Bonaparte in Egypt. It was dug out while making the foundation of Fort Julien at Rosetta, and was given to the French Institute at Cairo, but subsequently brought by General Hutchinson to England, and presented to the British Museum by George III.

The inscription on the Rosetta Stone is in 3 different scripts and 2 languages. At the top are 14 lines of Hieroglyphs, next 32 of Demotic, and lastly 54 lines of Greek. The Greek being a language understood by students, they tried to decipher the inscription, which was found to be a Decree written in the 9th year of Ptolemy Epiphanes, 196 B.C., and on comparing the Greek words with the hieroglyphic version, they found that the name of the king, which occurred several times, was always enclosed in a cartouche. The letters of the word "Alexandria" also served as a guide, and so from these beginnings the whole system of hieroglyphic reading has been gradually developed. In 1802, Akerblad, a Swede, published an Alphabet made from the Demotic in-

[1] See pp. 26, 97, "Ancient People" and "II Dynasty."

scription; and Dr. Young in 1819 published in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* a small list of characters, of which about 9 are still undisputed. In 1822, however, Champollion published his letter to M. Dauer, in which he announced his great discovery. His intimate knowledge of Coptic was of the greatest service in comparing the words and sounds of the letters, and further assistance was given him by the discovery of an obelisk at the island of Philæ, by Mr. Bankes, in 1815, with hieroglyphic and Greek inscriptions. The king's name, Euergetes II. Ptolemy, occurs, as also that of his wife, "Cleopatra the queen." This obelisk was brought home for Mr. W. Bankes under the direction of Belzoni. The foundation-stone for its erection was laid by the Duke of Wellington in 1827 at Kingston Lacy, where it still remains.

"The Decree of Canopus" was discovered in the ruins of Tanis in 1866 by M. Lambard, who called the attention of Lepsius and Reinisch to it. It is written on limestone in 3 scripts—Hieroglyph, Greek, and Demotic. A similar stone was found at Tell el Hesen, in the Delta, in 1881, which confirms the writing on the first. It is dated 7th March (or 17th Tybi) 238 B.C., in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes. A very important discovery was quite recently made by Captain Lyons in Philæ, from an inscription of the time of Augustus, in 3 languages and 3 scripts—Hieroglyphs, Greek, and Latin. It told how the Ambassadors from Ethiopia offered homage to the Roman Governments.

The Demotic character was the shortest or most cursive form of hieroglyphic writing. Many tales have been found written in the Græco-Roman period in Demotic. This form of the language is so difficult to decipher that very few can read it, though many Egyptologists now are making it a special study, and the greater knowledge of Coptic has enabled them to elucidate the language considerably. Hieratic is another shortened style of writing in use from the earliest times, the hieroglyphic signs being formed with much less care, though not so much abbreviated as the demotic; it is the running hand of the hieroglyphic. Great numbers of papyri were written in hieratic, principally literary documents, lists, and Government reports, though there are many religious ones also.

Hieroglyphic signs are generally very carefully drawn, and leave no doubt as to their meaning. Persons are represented in every imaginable attitude, rejoicing, walking, kneeling; old age leaning on a stick; children dancing; soldiers fighting, and the king seated on his throne. Animals and parts of animals are used as signs, also birds and fishes, reptiles and

insects, trees, flowers, ships, furniture, tools, and every sort of household utensil. It is impossible to enumerate them all. The words are usually first given in letters or syllables, of which the signs are equivalent to the sounds, and then followed by an ideograph explaining their meaning, much as in a child's picture spelling-book, when A. P. E. is followed by a picture of an ape.

All sorts of small objects are ornamented with hieroglyphs, wine-jars, beads, boxes, vases, and rings, but the most important of these are the scarabs.[1] An almost continuous series exists from the time of the III Dynasty until about 500 B.C. They are often buried with those whose names they bear, and hence have been valuable in identifying sites and tombs. They are variously inscribed with royal names and records of royal doings, names of officials and seals of office, as well as names of private individuals. It is thus evident that the scarabs are of great use to the historian in trying to piece together the lost history of the country.

Until about 60 years ago little was known of Greek writing on papyrus, the only specimens discovered being a few fragments found in 1752 during the excavations at Herculaneum, written apparently between the years 70 and 50 B.C. In 1778 an important find was made by natives in the Fayûm, but the value of the papyri not being known by the dealer to whom they were offered, they were nearly all destroyed. In 1820 a further find was made at Memphis, and in the following year a roll containing the last Book of the *Iliad* was found at Elephantine. From that time onwards a succession of interesting papyri have come to light, which have been dispersed among the museums and private collections of Europe. Petrie's discovery in the Fayûm in 1889[2] was of unique interest, the papyri being found glued together to form a kind of cartonnage and used for mummy-covers, the separating of the pieces being a work of great difficulty. These, translated by Mahaffy, were found to consist mostly of business documents, but there were also fragments of Plato's *Phædo* and a part of the lost *Antiope* of Euripides. The great Revenue Papyrus, dated 270 to 186 B.C., is invaluable, because from the forms of the characters used in the different years it has been possible to date other papyri. Many have since been found at Ashmunên (Hermopolis), at Mêr, at Behnesa (Oxyrrhynchus), and Tebtunis, by Grenfell and Hunt.[3] Among

[1] See page 54. (See under "Mummies.")

[2] In 1875-76 a large quantity of papyri was found in the Fayûm, now in the possession of the Archduke Rainer.

[3] Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhyncus Papyri*, *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, *Tebtunis Papyri*.

A.M.A

HEIROGLYPHIC RECORDS ON THE ROCKS IN THE VALLEY OF HAMMAMAT

the papyri acquired by the British Museum and other collections and those unearthed during these excavations are the lost Constitution of Aristotle, the Mimes of Herodas, a long medical treatise, fragments of Hyperides, Homer, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Thucydides, and Sophocles; the Odes of Bacchylides, fragments of St. Matthew and the Logia Jesu, and the last half of one of the dithyrambic poems of Timotheus of Miletus, found by the Germans at Abusir, near Sakkara, in 1902. The size of these papyri varies from a fine specimen with 18 lines of very small writing, which is only 5 inches in height, to a tax register which measures 15½ inches in height; and one containing orations against Demosthenes, which is 28 feet long and 7½ inches high.

Some most interesting Greek papyri are found in the Amherst Collection, lately translated by Grenfell and Hunt, and published in two volumes. The first contains a description of a papyrus on which is written the five verses of the Book of Genesis, the earliest copy known, besides other portions of the Bible, the "Ascension of Isaiah," and a very early Christian hymn of about 285 A.D. In the second volume are more portions of the Bible, a variety of classical and domestic documents, private letters, leases and contracts, from the second century B.C. to the seventh century A.D.

The exact dates of Egyptian history cannot be fixed with any certainty, as Egyptologists of the last century show a discrepancy in their chronology of 2070 years; as startling a difference as if King Edward VII., instead of coming to the throne in 1901 A.D., had begun to reign 179 B.C. Notwithstanding the wonderful discoveries of recent years, this difficult problem remains as yet unsolved, therefore the dates are uncertain until the XVIII Dynasty, when the reigns can be fixed within a few years.[1]

[1] The chronology followed is according to Petrie's *History of Egypt*, 1903.

CHAPTER V

HISTORY

PART I.—PRE-DYNASTIC PERIOD TO XI DYNASTY

"Till patient searchings after hidden lore
Half wring some bright truth from its prison."
BROWNING: *Paracelsus.*

"The story of the places, names, and dates."
BROWNING: *Death in the Desert.*

THE beginning of the history of Egypt is lost in mists of doubt and uncertainty. Many wonderful facts, however, about the prehistoric period as well as the early Dynasties are gradually coming to light through the efforts of explorers and modern research, and it is marvellous to think how much reliable information has reached us from that far distant past, which may go back to 5000 or 6000 years B.C.

Manetho states that Egypt was first reigned over by the gods, by which he probably meant that there were great rulers or kings, about whom such wonderful tales and fables were recorded that they came to be worshipped as gods, and drawn as such upon the monuments. The gods, he says, were followed by demi-gods, manes, and heroes, in whom we may perhaps see the monumental Hor-seshemu, or "Followers of Horus." These latter probably belonged to that race which are said to have come from the East, the "Land of the Sun" or Asia, to the valley of the Nile, eventually establishing kingdoms at Nekhen, or Hieraconopolis, opposite El Kab, and at Thinis, the site of which is now considered to lie near the modern town of Girgeh. Thinis was an important capital for many years, and records prove that as late as the XIX Dynasty it was a place of considerable importance. The town was situated in the 8th nome or division of Egypt, and its "towers" were still traceable in the time of the Romans, when it was celebrated for its purple dyes. These "towers" were probably the early mastabas of the III Dynasty kings, discovered in 1901 by Garstang.

Within the last few years fresh discoveries have been made at Kom el Akhmar, at Kûft (Koptos), at Arâbat el Madfûneh

(Abydos), at Naqada, Sakkara, and other sites, by Petrie, de Morgan, Quibell, and others, which throw much light on the hitherto obscure history of the early kings. More lately still, Petrie, reworking a site already exploited by Amélineau, has found at Abydos several tombs of royal and other personages, some of which he supposes to have been of even an earlier date than Menes (I Dynasty), and which he refers to as belonging to Dynasty O.[1] The names of these people are Ka or Ap, Ro, and Narmer, who came from the Horus Nome and was king of both Upper and Lower Egypt; that he was the predecessor of Aha is probable, and most likely he was the father of Mena, but which is the Mena of Manetho there is no evidence as yet to decide. In this history the original opinion that Mena and Aha are identical has been adopted. These tombs were built of brick and lined with mud-plaster walls, on which the names of the occupants were painted in red. At the entrance to each tomb were two great stelæ, which in each case were placed side by side on the east wall.

The oldest of these tombs that has been identified is perhaps that of Ka. It measures 20 feet by 10 feet. A black baked-mud sealing and cylinder jars with his name were found. In the tomb of Narmer the walls were enormously thick, and, like some others, it had a wooden roof. The finest art objects of this period were the carved slate palettes, on which are pictures of giraffes, elephants, and other kinds of animals, all beautifully drawn. Ivory combs and other objects, notably an ivory figure of a girl, have also been found, besides several small objects, from fragments of vases to needles and pins, in quartz, alabaster, ivory, ebony, and copper. On a prehistoric inscription on a shell found near the tomb of Menes at Naqada, the sign S—perhaps a royal name—has been deciphered.[2]

The names of 9 kings who reigned in Lower Egypt before the I Dynasty have been discovered on the Palermo Stone.

I DYNASTY, 4777–4514.

"All is mutation! he within this stone
Was once the greatest monarch of the hour;
His bones are dust, his very name unknown:
Go learn from him the vanity of power."
N. P. S.: *Lines to an Alabaster Sarcophagus.*

MENA, MENES, or AHA, was the first king of the I Dynasty.

[1] It is stated by Naville that in his opinion these tombs are not those of kings, but are funerary chapels, and that the words are not all royal names. He also identifies Narmer with Bœthos. This opinion is also shared by Maspero.

[2] Sayce in *Pro. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Nov. 1902.

The Turin Papyrus in the Tables of Abydos and Sakkara begin with his name, which means "The Constant." Formerly he was considered a semi-fabulous king, although his name appears the first on Manetho's list; but his existence has been clearly proved by the finding of his tomb, or that of his wife, at Naqada in 1897 by de Morgan, who also found the impression of the queen's own seal, which reads "The Spirit of Neithetep," and of another tomb said to be his, at Abydos, by Petrie. The great work Mena is said to have accomplished was to form a huge dyke across the Nile, which caused the river to flow farther east, thereby changing its course and providing a space between the Nile and the Libyan Mountains, on which the king began to build a new capital at Memphis, though the real capital was at Thinis. Portions of this dyke are still visible in the neighbourhood of Kafr el Ayât, and it helps to regulate the flow of water in the Gizeh province. It is used in the present system of irrigation, and is called "Cocheiche."[1] It is to the south of the modern village of Mit Rahîneh, a name evidently derived from "Menat-ro-henu," or "The Port at the Mouth of the Canal." The city of Memphis, besides its name Ha-ka-ptah, was called Men-nefer, or "The Place of the Beautiful," which became in Coptic Menofer, Memphis in Greek. One of the modern villages on the site is still called Tell Menf by the Arabs. A fortress which was built by Mena to protect his city stood to the north of the town, and was formerly called Anu-hez, or "The White Wall." Mena also built a large temple, and dedicated it to Ptah, "The Father of the Gods." Descriptions of it are found on monuments and in writings, but unfortunately hardly a vestige now remains. An Arab physician, Abd-el-Latif, writing as late as the thirteenth century A.D., describes a wonderful room, 9 cubits high, made out of a single block of green stone, probably the green porphyry from the valley of Hammamat. The walls were covered with figures of men and animals of extraordinary proportions, and each successive Pharaoh seems to have increased and beautified this marvellous temple. An inscription of the time of Rameses II. mentions a large lake constructed by Mena to the west of the city. For miles around Memphis and near modern Sakkara there are traces of ancient tombs which extend far into the desert. From them we may hope some day to gain more information concerning Mena and his wonderful city.

Mena led a successful campaign against the Libyans, and was called by Manetho a mighty warrior. There are several legends about him. One states that he was a very good king

[1] Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization.*

and made good laws, and was also a poet and composed a hymn to the memory of a favourite son. Another, that while he was hunting, his dogs attacked him, and he ran to the shore of the lake, and, jumping on the back of a crocodile, was safely conveyed to the other side! A different story is, that he was a wicked king, and that one day, when hunting a hippopotamus, he was attacked and eaten up by a crocodile! He is said to have built the town of Crocodilopolis, making the Crocodile god its guardian.

In the time of the Ptolemies Mena was still mentioned as founder of the worship of Ptah at Memphis. The tomb of a lady called Bener-ab, or "Sweet of Heart," probably a daughter of Mena, was found at Abydos, and contained her figure carved in ivory. In the tomb supposed to be Mena's in the cemetery at Abydos were a sealing of a jar, a shell bracelet, a bar of gold bearing the name "Aha," as well as the earliest consecutive line of hieroglyphs yet known.

ATI-TETA ATHOTHIS (ZER-TA).—Mena was succeeded by his son Teta, who is called by Manetho Athothis, and has recently been identified by Petrie as Zer, whose tomb was unearthed at Abydos, 1900, though many Egyptologists consider this doubtful. It was venerated as the shrine of Osiris between the XVIII and XXVI Dynasties, and on this account was partially destroyed by the Copts. Much wood had been used in the original building. In a hole in one of the walls was discovered part of the arm of a mummy, doubtless that of the queen, bearing four fine bracelets of gold, turquoise and amethyst beads and plaques. This is the oldest jewellery in existence.

Manetho states that Teta added greatly to the city of Memphis, by constructing a palace which he called "The King's Tower." Teta's name is mentioned in a very early papyrus found at Thebes by Ebers,[1] as having written a book on medicine, containing many receipts for the cure of diseases, especially for the treatment of leprosy. He also wrote upon anatomy and the formation of the body, and a recipe by his mother, Shesha, gives directions for mixing a wash to make the hair grow. A legend exists that a two-headed crane appeared during his reign, which was considered to foretell a long period of prosperity.

KENKENES (ATETH).—This king has now been identified by Petrie with Zet, whose tomb forms one of the group of the I Dynasty at Abydos, but as the inscriptions consist almost entirely of names and titles, they do not give much information

[1] Now in Berlin.

as to the events of his reign. According to Manetho, he ruled 31 years. The earliest Hieratic writing known is of this date.

UENEFES (ATA).—A great famine visited the land, and according to Manetho, he gave employment to his people by building a pyramid at Cochome, near Sakkara—formerly supposed to be the Step Pyramid of Sakkara. To Ata the creation of the province of the Fayûm has been attributed.[1] Petrie has identified this king with Merneit, whose tomb he found at Abydos. It is thought by others that Merneit was a queen wife of the next king, Den.

DEN-SETUI, or USAFAIS (HESEPTI).—The tomb of this king appears to be one of the most sumptuous in the group, having a pavement of red granite. Beautiful ivory tablets, unfortunately much injured, were found in it, but, owing to the inscriptions not yet being translated, much information still remains concealed. On one of these is the first architectural drawing known. One seal impression shows the king wrestling with a hippopotamus, and in another we see him hooking a crocodile. Usafais reigned 20 years. The names of many officials of his time are known, and evidently the country had become much more settled. Most writers agree that the 130th chapter of the Book of the Dead was written either by him or during his reign.

AZAB, MER-PA-BA, or MIEBIS (MER-AB).—Although this king reigned 19 years, there are as yet no records of events in his time. His tomb is near the others at Abydos; planks of wood laid in the sand formed its floor, and wooden posts supported the roof.

MERSEKHA SHEMSU, or SEMEMPSES (SEMENPTAH).—In the tomb was found the skeleton of a dwarf, also the bones of another in a small chamber, as well as two stelæ of dwarfs. Portions of the wooden flooring have been burnt, and near the entrance a quantity of sand saturated with ointment gave out a very strong scent. An ivory tablet, bearing the names Semempses, or Mersekha, was also brought to light. A French savant, Captain Raymond Weill, has recently discovered the Horus name of Mersekha in an old notebook belonging to Palmer, who had copied this name in 1860 in the Wady Maghara in the Sinai Peninsula. During his reign plague desolated the land, and the people grew wild and lawless. The power of the Dynasty was evidently waning.

BIENEKHES (QEBH), QA SEN.—This king was the last of the I Dynasty. His tomb appears to have been hastily constructed, the mud bricks having been used too new. The

[1] Sayce in *Pro. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Nov. 1900.

architecture, however, is more advanced, resembling the tombs of the III Dynasty. Few personal ornaments have been found in any of these tombs of the kings of the I Dynasty; but in that of Qa, vases, and a "thick gold foil covering" with a pattern like matting, also corn and quantities of grapes, were brought to light, as well as jar-sealings with inscriptions.

This I Dynasty consisted of 8 kings, and lasted, according to Manetho, 263 years. Under it the government of the country grew much more settled, as is seen from the number of names of persons who held official appointments. The art of writing now came into more general use.

II Dynasty 4514–4212 B.C.

Bokhos, or Bezau.—The first king of the II Dynasty reigned 38 years, according to Manetho. A great earthquake seems to have been the chief event of his time, when the earth opened and many people were swallowed up, near the town of Bubastis. He was thought to be the first king to place his name within a cartouche, though its use is now said to have been brought in much earlier.

Raneb, or Kaichos, Ka Kau.—In this reign we find the first mention of the ceremonials connected with the worship of the Apis Bull at Memphis, the goat at Mendes, and the ram at Heliopolis. For this reason Kaichos was called "The Bull of Bulls." Distinguished persons were allowed to add the names of their sacred animal to their own.

Binothris, Ba-neter-en, or Neter-en.—This king having no son to succeed him, arranged that his daughter should ascend the throne after his death, and that henceforth princesses should have a right to reign when there was no male heir. The titles bestowed upon the queen were "Mother of the King" and "Royal Bride." In many cases, when the king died, his widow shared the government of the country conjointly with his successor. From the inscription on the Palermo Stone, Neter-en reigned at least for 35 years.

Sekhem-ab, Perabsen, Uaznes, or Tlas.—The two stelæ belonging to this king's tomb were found buried in the sand at Abydos; they are of a very compact syenite. These seals have the figure of "Horus" placed over the name Sekhem-ab, and that of "Set" over Perabsen. These various titles probably have reference to conquests, the victor assuming those of the vanquished, and applies to the union of the two tribes of the Horus and Set worshippers. Many official titles unknown earlier have been found also on these clay sealings.

SEND, or SENTHENES.—Little is known of this king, but the name of a priest of his pyramid occurs on a slab of the IV Dynasty in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

KA-RA, or KHAIRES.—A cylinder of green steatite with this king's name was found by Quibell at El Kab.

NEFER-KA-RA.—This king is only known from the list of Abydos.

KHASEKHEM, SEKER-NEFER-KA, is probably to be identified with Neferkeres of Manetho, but may be the same as the following king.

SESOKHRIS, given by Manetho, has not yet been fully identified. Though said by some authorities to be the Nefer-ka-seker of the monuments, he is more probably identical with Sa-nekht of the III Dynasty, as he was said to be a giant who stood 5 cubits or 8 feet high, but Brugsch remarks that in spite of his size he "performed nothing that was judged worthy of transmission to posterity."

KHASEKEMUI is perhaps identical with Hezef of the monuments. He reigned 17 years. It is said that at one time the water of the Nile flowed for eleven days as sweet as honey. This tradition may have originated from the misreading of an early inscription. The sign for "honey" is the same as that for "king," and it may be that the record referred to a journey of the king down the river, though at certain seasons the waters are still said to have a sweet taste. The plan of his tomb differed greatly from others of the same period. It is one of those more particularly examined by Amélineau. In the chambers were found vases in a great variety of materials, copper needles, chisels, axes, and other tools and dishes, and two mutilated skeletons. Here were unearthed the most beautiful objects found in the whole cemetery, 7 vases, 6 marble and 1 carnelian, with gold covers, fastened round the neck with twisted gold wire, also a sceptre composed of sections of sard and gold threaded on a copper rod. Here was also found the seal of Hep-en-maat—a queen from whom the III Dynasty kings are perhaps descended.

As in the case of Perabsen, we find the figures of Horus and Set placed over the name of this king, which in this case especially refers to the fact "the appearing of the dual power (*i.e.* the king) in which the two gods are at peace," Horus and Set representing good and evil.

This Dynasty lasted about 300 years. The seat of its government was at This, but was afterwards moved to Memphis.

III Dynasty 4212–3998 B.C.

Neb-ka, Sa-nekht, was the first known king of this Dynasty. Manetho calls him Necherophes, and states that he reigned 28 years. It is said that during a revolt of the Libyans a curiously large moon appeared, and so frightened them that they fled and left the field. His tomb was found near that of Zezer, and his remains show him to have been a man of gigantic size, and he is therefore presumed to be the Sesokhris of Manetho.

Tosorthros, Neterkhet, is the next king mentioned by Manetho. He is probably the same as Zezer, or Neterkhet. He was called the Medicine King, from his great knowledge of that science.[1] In his reign lived a man named Ŷmhetep (Coming in Peace), who was "Superintendent of the Builders of the North and South Countries," "Mayor of the City," "Wezir," and "Chief Reader," and was son of Ka-nefer, the previous "Superintendent of the Builders." He was a great master of the science of medicine, and it was probably from him that the fame of King Zezer's learning emanated. Ŷmhetep was also a magician, an astrologer, and a philosopher. Quotations from his writings are mentioned in the tomb of King Antef. So great was his reputation, that he was, in later times, worshipped as a god, as has already been stated.[2]

The earliest record of an attack to repel the tribes on the borders of Egypt is of this date. It is inscribed on a rock in the Wady Maghâra. This king is also mentioned on a stela in the island of Sehel. He is said to have improved the art of hieroglyphic writing, and to have built a house of stone. The Step Pyramid at Sakkara was built by him, but he was not buried in it, as his real tomb was found at Beit Khallaf, near Abydos, by Garstang.[3] The hieroglyphs on it are well and distinctly cut, and many objects in stone and bronze were found.

During these reigns, mention is made on the monuments of some of the high priests of the gods, but there is practically no reliable information concerning this III Dynasty, which, according to Manetho, lasted 214 years, and consisted of 9 kings. The last one he mentions is Keferes, with whom Huni, or Neferkara, has been identified. The Prisse Papyrus refers to the succeeding king by stating: "Then King Huni died, and King Senefru became a beneficent ruler over the land."

Of Senefru, last king of the III Dynasty, we have a little more knowledge. The name of Senefru is one of the earliest found cut on a rock at Wady Maghâra, where there is also

[1] Sethe, *Imhetep der Asklepios der Ægypter*, 1902.
[2] See pp. 68–69.
[3] Garstang, *The III Egyptian Dynasty*.

an account of his battles, and remains can still be traced of the fortress which he erected for the protection of his troops and the deep well which supplied them with water. He took possession of the turquoise, emerald, and copper mines in the Sinai district, but whether he was the first to work these is uncertain. There are remains of a temple dedicated to Hathor, and in it is a carving representing Senefru slaying a man with a club. Senefru, according to the Palermo Stone inscription, built a great number of ships: "100 ships of Mer wood and 60 royal barks of 16 oars," "one ship of 100 ells of cedar wood, and two of 100 ells of Mer wood." These were probably used in a great expedition he made against the negroes of the south. This was very successful; 7000 men and women were made prisoners, besides 200,000 head of cattle being taken as booty. To protect the southern frontier, Senefru built a great wall or line of forts, and called it the Houses of Senefru. He also beautified his palace, making doors of cedar wood. He was the first of that long series of kings who built for themselves those marvellous Pyramid tombs which have been the wonder of all succeeding ages. These tombs were served by priests, who seem to have been among the very highest nobles of the land, as is learnt from the frequent mention of their names and the inscriptions referring to them. From this date the king's eldest son bore the title of High Priest of On; at the end of the IV Dynasty the kings themselves adopted it. Senefru built the great pyramid of Medûm for his tomb, which differs from others in many respects. It seems originally to have been a square block of masonry, and to have been enlarged by enclosing this within outer walls, forming steps, so that it appears as a "square tower in three stages," the stone being of a rich orange colour. The pyramid was opened by Maspero in 1882, but only some broken pieces of a wooden coffin and a jar, also broken, were discovered; the sarcophagus had evidently been removed. Close by, Senefru built a temple of limestone, found by Petrie in 1891, on the walls of which his name often appears rudely scratched. There is a statue of his queen Mertiteſes at Leyden, and a tablet was found at Gizeh giving her name. In excavating the mounds near the pyramid of Senefru, several interesting tombs were found by Mariette, but the most remarkable discovery was in that of Rahetep and Nefret his wife, whose life-sized statues, now in the Cairo Museum, were found in perfect preservation. The eyes, made of shining quartz, ivory, and dark ore, seem absolutely to live and fascinate with their steady gaze. Tombs dating from the III Dynasty have been found in the Fayûm, but they were not those of important persons.

IV DYNASTY 3998–3721 B.C.

"Ye must have heard their fame,
Or likely ye have seen them,
The mighty Pyramids;
For sure those awful piles have overlived
The feeble generations of mankind."

SOUTHEY: *Thalaba.*

SHAARU, of whom a single rock inscription at El Kab remains, is now thought by some Egyptologists to have been the first king of this Dynasty.

KHUFU, the second king, was the son of Senefru. He is called Cheops by Herodotus, and is best known as the builder of the Great Pyramid. According to custom, as soon as he came to the throne, he gave orders for the building of his tomb, but this was to be on a far more gigantic scale than was ever reached before, or has ever been surpassed since, being one of the "Seven Wonders of the World." The name of the pyramid of Khufu was Khut, which means "The Lights," or "Horizon," the hieroglyphic for which is over the entrance door. The theory affirmed by many writers that the Pyramid was built so as to take accurate observations of the stars may therefore be correct. It was surrounded by a limestone pavement, and beyond this are trenches supposed to have been used in some way for noting the stars. Its four sides face due north, south, east, and west, its entrance door facing the Pole Star in the time of Khufu. It is 451 feet high, and averages 750 feet at its base, narrowing to the top in steps from 3 to 4 feet in depth, which continue round the four sides. The entrance, which is very small, about 50 feet from the base, was found by Colonel Howard Vyse in 1831. Since the pyramid was first examined by Nicholas Shaw in 1721, many archæologists have explored the interior, but the true triangulation was taken by Petrie in 1883. The sarcophagus of the king was empty; the chamber in which it had rested was built of blocks of red granite so exquisitely fitted that the joints are scarcely perceptible. The second chamber, called the "Queen's," is built in the same style, and is approached by a narrow ledge projecting from the wall, and very difficult to traverse, being of smooth, polished granite, exceedingly slippery. In the king's chamber is a huge, hollowed block of red granite, whose use is much disputed by Egyptologists. The exterior stone of which the pyramid is built is rough limestone, brought from the eastern side of the Nile. The coating, of which none remains, was of a much finer quality of the same stone from the quarries of Tura, in the

Mokattam Hills. The number of men employed in building this pyramid is stated by Herodotus to have been 100,000 for 3 months at a time, for a period of over 20 years. The name of Khufu is found written in red paint on the blocks of granite in the king's chamber above the quarry marks, and in the same manner was seen on some rocks near El Kab; he is also thought to have built a temple to Hathor at Ta-en-ta-rer, Dendera. Accounts differ as to the character of Khufu; some describe him as a cruel taskmaster, others as a successful conqueror, doing all he could for the improvement of his kingdom. There are records of no less than 15 priests and keepers of the Pyramid of Khufu, and a stela found in the Serapeum gives evidence that the cult of this king and two of his successors continued down to Roman times. He had a daughter named Henutsen, her pyramid is at Gizeh, and around his own were buried in smaller pyramids and mastabas the members of his family and the servants and officers of his Court.

KHAFRA, or CHEPHREN, the third king of the IV Dynasty, built the second Great Pyramid of Gizeh. It is called Ur, or "The Great," and is only 3 feet less than that of Khufu in height, but is 59 feet smaller at the base. It is built of much rougher stone, and the workmanship is not so careful. Part of the outside casing of fine white limestone remains, which takes a beautiful polish, and from this portion a very good idea can be formed of the aspect of the whole when it was first completed. When Belzoni entered the king's chamber in 1818, he found the sarcophagus empty and broken. The name of Khafra has not been found in any part of the building. A stela now in the Louvre shows that he especially restored the worship of Isis, and his wife Merisankh that of Thoth, in whose honour she dedicated a temple at Hermopolis.

A little to the south of the Pyramids is the Great Sphinx.[1] This strange recumbent figure, with the head of a man and the body of a lion, is above 66 feet high and 150 feet long.[2] It is carved out of the natural rock; the paws were restored in brickwork in Roman times. Probably the Nile at one time flowed close below it. Its date is uncertain, but most authorities believe it to be very ancient; some affirm that it existed before the IV Dynasty, others that it is of the date of the XII Dynasty. In front of this Sphinx is the lower portion of a temple built of fine red granite and alabaster, and a long hall with recesses above the doors at either end. In this hall was found the wonderful miocene quartzite—erroneously called diorite—statue of Khafra, now in the Cairo Museum, which is one of the

[1] See page 136.

[2] The beard is in the British Museum.

grandest specimens of ancient art, and shows what a marvellous personality this king must have possessed.

MEN-KAU-RA, or MYKERINOS, built the smallest of the three great pyramids of Gizeh, which is called "Her," or "The Upper." It measures 204 feet in height and 356 feet at its base. In the reign of Saladin and his successor Othman, attempts were made to destroy this pyramid and use the materials for buildings in Cairo, but it was so solidly constructed that after eight months' labour the idea was abandoned. Many explorers have tried to investigate it, even as early as 1700 A.D., but in 1837 Colonel Howard Vyse, who descended the shaft to a depth of 30 feet, found a chamber with the remains of a cedar-wood case, and on penetrating still lower through a trap-door, discovered the sarcophagus of brown basalt, and part of the wooden coffin bearing an inscription with the names and titles of the king in fine preservation. These were on their way to England, when unfortunately the ship was wrecked off Carthagena, and the sarcophagus was lost. Its wooden cover was happily saved, and is now in the British Museum.

Men-kau-ra was a good and pious king, and did much honour to the gods. Part of the celebrated Book of the Dead goes back to the time of this king, the rubric of chapter 64 stating that it was found on a block of "iron [?] of the south" in the time of Men-kau-ra by his son Hor-ded-ef. The arts of this age were most beautiful, and quite as refined as any of a later period.

RA-DED-EF reigned 23 years, but nothing is known of any events of his time. His pyramid has recently been discovered to have been at Abu Roash. In the Westcar Papyrus, probably written in the XII Dynasty, which consists of magicians' tales, there is mention of this king with his brother and father: the latter is therein stated to have been Khufu.

SHEPSES-KA-EF.—The chief personage of his reign was Ptah-Shepses, who appears to have been brought up by Men-kau-ra with the royal children, and especially singled out by the successor of that king to become his son-in-law; for Maat-Kha, the eldest daughter of the king, was chosen as his wife, and in all respects he was treated with great distinction and regard. He "charmed the heart of his master," was permitted to touch the knees of the king instead of kissing the ground, and, like Joseph,[1] became "chief steward of the house of provisions." He was also chief of the mines, and head prophet of the priesthood of Ptah near Memphis, and of the obelisks of Ra. Shepses-ka-ef built a pyramid which was called Kebh,

[1] Genesis xli. 40.

"The Cool." He commenced building it in the first year of his reign. His name does not often appear on the monuments. There are several instances of the name "Shepses" being used as a compound in the names of private individuals; for instance, Shepses-af-ankh, or "life" of Shepses-ka-ef. This custom was often followed, and has been of use in proving the existence of some of the kings of whom no records exist. Diodorus alludes to King Shepses-ka-ef as a great law-giver, and also states that he invented geometry and the art of observing the stars. According to Manetho, he reigned 26 years. These were probably peaceful, as records of journeys, festivals, and erection of buildings exist, but no mention of war in his time.

ÛMHETEP must be placed somewhere near the end of this Dynasty, but so little is known of him that it is doubtful whether he even belonged to it. There is an inscription at Hammamat which is the only authority yet known for his existence. This Dynasty lasted till about 3721 B.C.

The IV Dynasty showed a great advance in the arts and in the grandeur of the conception of the buildings erected, which in their simplicity and solidity prove the extraordinary knowledge and taste of the architects who devised them. The exquisite skill evidenced by the painters and sculptors of the time is seen, who executed every minute detail of their work with such care that it remains to this hour as perfect as when first completed.

V DYNASTY 3721–3503 B.C.

This Dynasty begins a new era in the history, as, according to the lists of Manetho, all previous Dynasties came from Thinis and Memphis, but this one from Elephantine.[1] There, an inscription of Khufu ankh, of the IV Dynasty, whose coffin is in the Cairo Museum, was discovered by Professor Sayce on a block used in the building of the city wall. Here also fragments of papyri were found, one mentioning Elephantine as belonging to the domain of Pepŷ II. Manetho's list contains the names of 9 kings.

The first of these was King USER-KA-EF. No pyramid of this king has yet been identified, but his name traced in red has been found on some stones near the village of Abusir. He gave largely to the temples of the gods, endowing them with landed property and providing for daily sâcrifices.

This King SAHU-RA was the next in succession. He carried

[1] The name Elephantine is probably due to a misreading by Manetho of a place with a somewhat similar name near Heliopolis.

on wars with the native tribes of Sinai, to protect the mines in that country, where he also caused a rock-tablet to be carved commemorating his conquests. In the (?) 12th year of his reign, Sahu-ra made an expedition to the land of Punt, which is the earliest record of such an undertaking. He brought thence 80,000 jars of myrrh, besides many precious woods and products. He built temples and endowed them. Several cylinder seals of his officials are known. He seems to have reigned 13 years, and his pyramid, called Kha-Ba, or "Glorious Spirit," stands to the north of Abusir.

NEFER-AR-KA-RA. — He was called "a learned scribe," "chief of writing who serves as a light to all writings in the house of Pharaoh." He made splendid gifts to the gods, especially to Ra. He built a pyramid called "Ba," the Soul, of which Thŷ, whose beautiful tomb is at Sakkara, was keeper. He reigned for 20 years. There is a cylinder seal of his in the Ward Collection, and he is the last king mentioned on the Palermo Stone.

Then follow KAKAA, who may have been identical with the preceding or following kings; SHEPSES-KA-RA and NEFER-RA, of whom nothing important has come to light. Two priests of Nefer-ra's pyramid are known; it was called Neter-bau, "The Souls of the Gods."

RA-EN-USER, or AN.—His name and titles appear on the rocks at Wady Maghâra, and a red granite statuette of this king was found at Sakkara. Many other objects bear his name. He was a warlike king, and reigned 44 years. The central pyramid of the Abusir group has been identified as his. It is called Men-asut, "Firm of Foundation." The temple attached to the pyramid was excavated in 1901. It was paved with large blocks of black basalt, and the roof was supported on papyri form columns of granite. To the north of it the Germans had already discovered the great Temple of the Sun, erected by the same monarch, with an altar of alabaster in the midst of a lofty platform of brick, on the summit of which stood an obelisk. The little pyramid at Riggah, likewise called Men-asut, may also have been built by him.

MEN-KAU-HOR succeeded. His name and portrait were found in the Bull pits of Sakkara, where he bears the usual royal title of "Good God, Lord of the Two Lands." The rocks at Wady Maghâra have stories relating to him sculptured upon them. His pyramid is called Neter Asut, "The Most Holy Place."

DED-KA-RA, ASSA (the royal titles Ta Ra Suton Bat were now used), built a pyramid called Nefer, or "The Beautiful." He is one of the early kings whose name is

met with in the Wady Maghâra and in the quarries of Wady Hammamat. A papyrus found near Sakkara, in which the name of Assa occurs, is considered to be the most ancient known. Another, known as the "Prisse Papyrus," contains the "Precepts of Ptah-hetep," which are very beautiful and touching. Ptah-hetep is supposed to have been the tutor or uncle of King Assa, and an old man when he wrote them, and he describes his failing powers thus:—"The eyes are small . . . the ears stopped . . . power is constantly diminished . . . the mouth is silent . . . memory is closed . . . the bones are not in a state to render service . . . even the taste is gone . . . old age makes a man miserable in every way."[1] Among the sayings which follow are:—"If thou art become great after thou hast been humble, and if thou hast amassed riches after poverty . . . if thou art known for thy wealth and art become a great lord, let not thy heart become proud because of thy riches, for it is God who is the Author of them for thee. . . ."[2] These few extracts give but a faint idea of the beauty of these writings.

UNAS, the last king of the V Dynasty, built a pyramid which stands to the south of Mariette's house, near Sakkara. Maspero opened the pyramid in 1881, and it has now been completely cleared out. The walls of the king's chamber are lined with alabaster, and covered with paintings and hieroglyphs in blue. His granite sarcophagus still remains in the centre, but is empty. His name has been found on some of the blocks of another pyramid, in the Mastaba el Faraûn, or "The Seats of Pharaoh," lying to the south of Sakkara. There is also a finely cut inscription of this king on the granite rocks at Elephantine.

One of the most perfect monuments of this age in existence is the tomb of Thŷ, near Sakkara. Thŷ was a priest of Memphis, and his wife, Neferhetep ("Beautiful Offering"), was of royal descent. He was a "semer," or companion and chamberlain of the king, "enthroned in the heart of his lord," "President of all the royal works," etc. His wife is described as "the Beloved of her husband," "The palm of amiability to her husband," "The Mistress of the House."

The tomb is so much hidden in sand that very little of it is visible, but the interior, which has been cleared, is covered with hieroglyphs and paintings representing an extraordinary variety of subjects. Thŷ himself is shown presiding over each scene, whether it be domestic or otherwise. Servants are seen bringing meat and fruit, feeding geese and pigeons in great flocks, driving herds of donkeys and cattle, ploughing, reaping, and gleaning. Again, Thŷ is engaged in various sports, hunt-

[1] *Records of the Past*, Series II. vol. viii. [2] *Ibid.*

ing, the hippopotamus, catching birds in nets, or throwing a curved stick exactly like a boomerang. Several statues have been found in this tomb, and the description of their being made is written in the hieroglyphs; some were of ebony and some of acacia wood. Besides these, one large stone figure of Thŷ was found, which is now in the Cairo Museum, and one of his wife, Neferhetep.

VI Dynasty 3503–3335 B.C.

TETA was the first king of this Dynasty. His name has been found at the alabaster quarries at Het-nub, and his pyramid, Dad-Asut ("The Place of Stability"), at Sakkara. He is said to have been murdered by one of his bodyguard.

USER-KA-RA, or ATI, only occurs on the list of Abydos, and there is an inscription purporting to be of the first year of his reign in the Wady Hammamat, stating that he procured thence the stone for his pyramid, the Mastaba el Faraûn, called Bau.

MERŶRA, PEPŶ, commonly called Pepŷ I., lived at Memphis, and seems to have devoted himself to the good of his country. At Wady Maghâra the rocks are covered with stories of his doings, his wars, his victories, and his public works. Inscriptions telling of his deeds are also found in the valleys of Hammamat, the quarries of El Kab, and the rocks of Aswân. Besides these, numerous inscribed objects of his reign exist.

Pepŷ had a faithful friend and servant called Una, who seems to have occupied very important and confidential offices. The king called him "dearer to his heart than all the other servants in the land." It was he who commanded vast armies in time of war from the north and south, and led successful campaigns against the tribes of Lower Egypt. The most important of these expeditions was against the lands of the Herusha in the Eastern Desert, and of the Amu, which were conquered and laid waste. He also made an expedition in ships, possibly to some part of the Red Sea, but it is difficult to determine the locality. Una seems always to have been employed by his royal master when any delicate or intricate matter was on hand. He was desired to bring white stone from the Tura (Ra-Fu) quarries near Cairo, in the Mokattam Hills, to form the king's pyramid, and to cause the sarcophagus to be cut out of a solid block of stone. The pyramid was named Men-nefer, "The Beautiful Place." The tomb of the king is at Sakkara, and was opened in 1880, and some 1200 lines of inscription were found on its walls, which Maspero has published,

but his sarcophagus broken to pieces. The tomb of Pepŷ's queen, Merŷ-ra-ankhes, is at Abydos, and gives the names of her father Khua, and her mother Mekebet, and her two sons, who both in turn became king. The stela of a brother of Queen Merŷ-ra-ankhes, called Zau, was found at Abydos. He was probably a brother of Aba, the nomarch of Du-ef, the 12th nome, whose beautifully painted tomb is at Dêr el Gebrawi.[1] Aba seems to have been hereditary prince of the 8th or Thinite nome, and to have become nomarch of Du-ef by marriage with the heiress of the last ruler. He evidently received many favours from his royal brother-in-law, as is shown by the long lists of his titles. The importance of his provincial lordship is seen in the paintings, which show the inhabitants employed in every kind of useful labour, from the tilling of the soil to the building of ships and the smelting of metals. The necropolis contains, besides Aba's, several other tombs of nomarchs of importance. That powerful local princes such as these were loyal vassals of the Pharaoh, is a proof of the power of the latter even in these early times. The capital of the nome Per-hor-nub ("The City of the Golden Hawk") existed into Roman times, as there is evidence of a cohort of Lusitani being quartered there.

MER-EN-RA, MEHTI-EM-SA-EF, was the son of Pepŷ, and succeeded to the throne on the death of his father. Una remained in favour, and was made "Governor of Upper Egypt." He was ordered to bring stone from the country of Abhat for the king's pyramid. He brought back a sarcophagus of black granite, which still remains in his pyramid at Sakkara, and a great table for offerings, cut from the alabaster quarries at Het-nub. These stones were so enormous that vessels had to be specially constructed to convey them to Memphis. The pyramid was called Kha-nefer, or "The Beautiful Spirit."

Her-khu-ef, son of Ara, the successor of Una in the government of the southern provinces, was also sent by Mer-en-ra on several expeditions to the south. The accounts of these journeys are inscribed on Her-khu-ef's tomb, Gubat el Howa, opposite Aswân. Her-khu-ef was sent to the "forest of the negroes in the country of Wawat to cut down acacia wood," in order to construct three large vessels. From these countries, identified with that part of Nubia lying between Korosko and the Red Sea, many treasures were brought of ivory, ebony, leopard-skins, and other precious articles. A little dancer called Deng came with them, supposed to be a dwarf, who amused the young king very much, and he gave orders "to watch him that he did not fall in the water, and sleep with him

[1] Davies, *Dêr el Gebrawi.*

that, he run not away," and that provisions and necessaries were to be furnished for him on the journey. Reference is made to a similar dwarf brought to King Assa by Bau-ded.[1]

Mer-en-ra had a very short reign. His mummy was found in his pyramid in 1880, and was that of a young man with the lock of hair denoting youth still perfect; it is now in the Cairo Museum, and copper statues of himself and his father Pepŷ have been found.

NEFER-KA-RA, or PEPŶ II., brother to Mer-en-ra, succeeded him. The name of his pyramid was Men-ankh, "The House of Life." His names are found in the alabaster quarry of Het-nub, and also on a fine stela at Elephantine, which mentions the second "sed, or festival," of the king's reign, and as three such festivals are recorded, it is supposed he reigned nearly 90 years.

MER-EN-RA, NETER-KA-RA, and MEN-KA-RA, whose reign lasted 90 years. Little of interest has been discovered as yet concerning these three kings, who were petty rulers, doing nothing worthy of record. Their names occur on various lists.

Net-aquerti, better known as Nitocris, the queen of Men-ka-ra, and the last ruler of the VI Dynasty, was, according to Manetho, "the noblest and most beautiful woman of her time, fair in colour, the builder of the third pyramid." The story is, that the brother of Nitocris had been murdered, and she, to avenge his death, invited all his enemies to see a vast underground passage which she had made, and as soon as all had entered, she let water in from the river, and they were drowned. Having done this, she killed herself to avoid being killed by her enemies. Manetho says that this queen built the third pyramid, which explorers attribute without doubt to Men-kau-ra, of the IV Dynasty, as it is built in the solid and splendid manner of that time, and not in the inferior style of the pyramids of the VI Dynasty; but Manetho's statement appears to have had some foundation, as Perring, an English engineer, considers that this pyramid has, at some period, been reconstructed and enlarged. The sarcophagus of the king was found as it had been left in the lower chamber, and another, supposed to be that of Queen Nitocris, was also discovered in the outer hall. The name, too, of Men-kau-ra, so much resembling that of Men-ka-ra, the confusion may easily have arisen. Herodotus tells a somewhat similar story, and attributes the alteration to the wife of Psamtek II., Rhodopis, the Ionian, whose name was the Greek "translation of the characteristic epithet of the Egyptian queen," "The Rosy-cheeked Beauty."

[1] See page 136 (Psamtek).

The Arabs still believe that the ghost of a beautiful woman hovers round this pyramid at noon and sunset.

The tomb of Merŷ, at Sakkara, is a fine example of a private tomb of the VI Dynasty. Though the style of the bas-reliefs are inferior to those of Thŷ, they still are beautifully executed, and give a varied picture of the occupations and pastimes of the owner.

This Dynasty lasted about 200 years.

VII, VIII, IX, X Dynasties 3335–3005 B.C.

Between the VI and XI Dynasties all is still obscure, but many kings are named in Manetho's list whose history may eventually be brought to light. Manetho gives 5 kings for the VII Dynasty; 27 for the VIII Dynasty, of whom only two can be traced, Nefer-ka-ra and Ra-en-ka; and 27 kings for the IX Dynasty. The kings of this last Dynasty came from Herakleopolis. A curious piece of open copper-work at the Louvre reveals the name of Ab-merŷ-ra Khety, one of them, whose cartouche is also found on the rocks at the First Cataract. On the coffin of a private individual in the Cairo Museum the name "Uah-ka-ra Khety" occurs. He was evidently another of these little known Herakleopolitan kings. Another, Ka-merŷ-ra, is mentioned as engaged in warlike expeditions against Thebes, and in the south at Elephantine, which he and his son Tefeba subdued. He is said to have also undertaken irrigation works in the neighbourhood of Asyût.

Of the X Dynasty, 17 kings are enumerated on the various lists. It would seem that the last kings of this Dynasty were scarcely of more importance in Egypt than the contemporary Theban princes. These princes seem to have belonged to a family who came from Hermonthis, Erment, and, settling in Thebes at about the time of the VI Dynasty, became its princes. The first prince or great chief of Thebes of whom we have any mention was called Antef, whose stela is among the treasures of the Cairo Museum. During the X Dynasty, these princes, several of whom bore the name of Mentuhetep, gradually gained in power until they became the virtual rulers of the land.

To this period belongs also the powerful family of the princes of Asyût, from whose tombs we gather almost all the scanty information we have of the history of the times. The inscriptions there show in what a disturbed state the country then was. Khety, one of the chief of these princes, tells how

Sketch of the interior of the Temple at Luxor

he gathered troops to fight for his sovereign against the Thebans, and gives an account of the struggle.[1]

XI Dynasty 2965–2778 B.C.

Several of the kings of this Dynasty are mentioned on the list of Karnak; it shows plainly that they were Theban princes.

Mentuhetep I., Neb-kheru-ra, was possibly the son of Antef, the great chief of the Theban nome. He commanded the army of the south, and overthrew the Herakleopolitan kings, making himself sole ruler of the country. He is represented at Konosso worshipping the Triad of the First Cataract, who "throw all peoples under his feet." There is a small temple of this king at Gebelên. A wonderful tomb, supposed to have been excavated for this king, was discovered at Dêr el Bahari in 1900.[2] It consists of a descending passage, 150 yards long, cut in the solid rock, terminating in a chamber from which a vertical shaft, 110 feet deep, leads to a burial-chamber, which is unfinished and empty. In the first chamber were found a statue wrapped up in linen cloths, an empty coffin, and various offerings. The only inscription is that on a small box. It bears the name of Mentuhetep, but the reading of the hieroglyphs which give the prenomen is not certain. So that, whether this tomb belonged to Mentuhetep I. or Mentuhetep III. cannot be determined until further search shall discover the real sarcophagus chamber. He reigned about 46 years, and associated with himself in the government his son and successor, Antef I. A rock-cut scene shows the latter standing arrayed as a king before his father.

Hor Uah Ankh, Antef I., or Antef-AA, "The Great Antef."—On a stela now in Cairo, found near the king's tomb in the Drâh abu 'l Negga, at Thebes, there is a representation of him standing with his four greyhounds beside him. They are named in hieroglyphs as "The Gazelle," "The Greyhound," "The Black," and "The Fire Pot." A papyrus[3] written in the time of Rameses IX. mentions the tomb of this king. It describes this tablet, on which it says "there is an image of the king standing, having between his feet his dog, named Behukaa." Antef appears to have been a good king. He improved the city of Abydos, endowed its temples, and cut fresh canals. A rock-tablet of his was found at Elephantine.

There is a stela dated in the reign of Usertsen I. in the

[1] Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization.*
[2] By Howard Carter.
[3] The Abbott Papyrus in the British Museum.

Leyden Museum, mentioning a certain Antef-aqer, whose great-grandfather lived under this king.

MENTUHETEP II., NEB-HETEP-RA.—His name is found in many places, which shows how extensive his dominions must have been. A stela at Konosso states that he was the conqueror of 13 countries; and on the rocks of Hammamat it is recorded that he found a deep well in the desert to provide water for pilgrims, and for the workmen who cut the black basalt, green porphyry, and other valuable and beautiful stones from the quarries. At Hammamat there is another inscription, giving an account of an expedition, under an officer called Amenemhat, which records the cutting of one stone, for the removal of which 3000 men were required. It goes on to state that on the safe return of the expedition, without the loss of a single man, "or the breaking of one donkey's back," oxen and gazelle were sacrificed and incense burnt. In one of the many inscriptions the king is called the son of "the royal mother Aam," who, it is thought, probably acted as regent during her son's minority. A Sed festival occurred in 2920 B.C.

MENTUHETEP III., NEB-TAUI-RA.—A colossal figure of this king is carved on the rocks at Silsileh, and portions of his temple with the cartouche have been found at Thebes. At Aswân a tablet records that in the 41st year of his reign he arranged "business" with the boats of Wawat. There is also a large stela of the 46th year of his reign in the Turin Museum. Another interesting tablet is that of an artist, Mertisen, who describes his skill in very quaint language, as "I know the walking of the image of a man. The carriage of a woman . . . the poising of the arm to bring the hippopotamus low . . . the contemplating the eye without an equal which affrights the wicked . . . the making of amulets which enables us to go without the fire giving its flame on us or the flood washing us away."

There are few small remains of the time of Mentuhetep III., but one very fine gold heart in the Louvre bears his name. The cartouches of the two queens of this king have been found —Tumen and Aah.

SE-ANKH-KA-RA was the last king of this Dynasty. The chief event of his reign is described on the rocks at Hammamat. It was an expedition entrusted to an officer named Henu, who started from Koptos with an army of 3000 men for Punt, supposed to be Somaliland, or some other locality situated on the coast of the Red Sea. Each man in turn carried yokes and skins for the water, and was provided with a measure of water and 20 biscuits daily. Wells were dug at Atahet, Ateb,

and Seba, which are probably identical with the resting-places now used by travellers. Henu's expedition returned successful, and he brought back gums, spices, rare woods, metals and precious stones, as well as animals and birds of many sorts, and gave a wonderful account of the beauty and fertility of the country, which he called Ta-neter ("The Land of the Gods"); and he says, "Never was there a like thing done since there were kings." From this time onwards we constantly hear of similar journeys, many making use of this caravan road, which is still a highway to Asia by the Red Sea.

Se-ankh-ka-ra seems to have had the same love of animals as his predecessor Antef, for on a tablet on the rocks he is shown seated on his throne with his dog lying at his feet, and two servants holding gazelles. This proves that the race of dogs still called gazelle-hounds existed nearly 3000 years ago. Se-ankh-ka-ra reigned 8 years.

The placing of the kings in their correct order in the XI Dynasty is still a matter of discussion; three of the Antefs now placed just before the XVII Dynasty were formerly supposed to belong to this one.

Hitherto the facts concerning the rulers of Egypt have been few and often uncertain, but by the time the end of the XI Dynasty is reached, history for a time becomes clearer. It is evident that the Theban princes had ousted all rivals and were firmly established on the throne of Egypt, and by their warlike expeditions had for the time subdued the surrounding tribes and paved the way for the glories of the XII Dynasty.

PART II

XII TO END OF XVII DYNASTY 2778–2565 B.C.

"In the elder days of art
Builders wrought with greatest care
Each minute and unseen part;
For the gods see everywhere."

LONGFELLOW: *The Builders.*

This Dynasty consisted of 8 kings, all mentioned on monuments, and is celebrated for the important events which occurred during their reigns.

In the long series of inscriptions in the tombs of Beni Hasan there are many records of contemporary history, and from the wall-paintings much has been gleaned of the public and domestic life of the times. There are directions given as to festivals and

religious ceremonies, the limits of the nomes and the distribution of water, with many other subjects, including the adjustment of the calendar by the stars.

AMENEMHAT I. has been thought by Brugsch to have been the Wezîr of Mentuhetep IV. He appears to have found the country very unsettled, and distressed by wars and conspiracies; but he seems to have established his dominion beyond question in the south. There is an inscription in the gold country of Wawat which says that he conquered that country when only 29 years of age. He carried on successful campaigns also against the Maazi, Herusha, and other "rabble" in the south, north, east and west, and did not neglect the service of the gods. He founded the great temple of Amen at Thebes, and there is a portrait of him there carved in red granite. Memphis, the Fayûm, and many other places, bear testimony to his greatness as a conqueror and builder, as well as to his wisdom and goodness.

Amenemhat, like his predecessors, provided for his burial, and sent the chief of the priests to Rehannu, in the country of Hammamat, to cut the stone for his sarcophagus; this being very large, was rolled along the desert, and "never the like had been provided since the days of the god Ra." In a papyrus called the "Sallier," Amenemhat gives his son an epitome of his life and doings, mingled with much sage advice, and describes an attack upon his life at night by conspirators, who appear to have run away when discovered by the king. His pyramid, called Khanefer ("The Beautiful Soul"), has been found near Lisht, north of Kafr el Ayat, and is mentioned on a stela of Hor. He died in the 30th year of his reign. There is a papyrus in the Berlin Museum[1] which gives the story of Prince Sanehat, brother of Usertsen I., who for some reason left the Court and went to a place called Tennu, in the land of Edom. The king there received Sanehat, and gave him his eldest daughter to wife, and a portion of land called Iaa, and he became very rich and prosperous. He killed a wicked giant, and in consequence grew into great favour with the people. At last, however, he grew so homesick, and longed so much to return to his native land, that he could bear it no longer, and he wrote to ask Amenemhat to let him return. He was permitted to do so, and was received by the king with gladness, and "he was in the grace of the king till the day of his death."[2]

USERTSEN I., KHEPER-KA-RA, reigned conjointly with his father Amenemhat for 10 years, and for 32 years was sole ruler.

[1] Fragments are in the Amherst Collection.

[2] See page 132 (Thothmes III.).

In the 3rd year of their joint reign he built or restored the temple of Heliopolis, and was crowned with great ceremony with the double crown. The obelisk of the Temple of the Sun still standing bears his name and date. As late as 1200 A.D., this obelisk was covered with copper at the top. Usertsen's dominions were very extensive, reaching to the Wady Maghâra, the Sinaitic peninsula, and throughout all Egypt, including the Fayûm and the Delta. In the tomb of Ameny, at Beni Hasan, there is an account of an expedition which he made with the son of the king to the land of Kush (Ethiopia), where they conquered their enemies, and returned "sharp of face, but without loss of my soldiers."

He went out again with the prince in search of gold, which they found. He says, "I returned in peace—I had done all that was ordered me." Ameny was for several years ruler of the Oryx nome, in which Beni Hasan was situated. He was much beloved by the king and people, did many good works, and by his energy in cultivating the land saved the people in time of famine: "There was not a hungry man in my time."[1] Mentuhetep was another remarkable personage in this reign. He was chief architect to the king, and appears to have cleaned and beautified the temple of Abydos. His gifts and talents were very varied, for he was a learned lawyer as well as a skilful general, and again and again filled great offices of state. His history is found in his tomb at Beni Hasan.

There is a fine statue of Usertsen I. at Abydos, and 13 other statues were found near his pyramid at Lisht.[2] There is a bas-relief of him found at Koptos; also at Karnak, and in many other temples his name and his portrait may be seen. An interesting record near Wady Halfa describes the conquests of Usertsen over the negroes in the 18th year of his reign. This is broken into two pieces, one of which is at Florence and the other at Oxford. His name is found on small objects, such as rings, scarabs, etc., and on mother-of-pearl shells.

AMENEMHAT II., NUB-KAU-RA, reigned first with his father for about 2 years. No great conquests are recorded, but important mining works were carried on at Sarbut el Khadîm, and incursions of negroes prevented. He had a peaceful reign, reaping the benefit of the conquests of his predecessors. Manetho says this king was murdered by his chamberlains. The number of fine tombs of nobles and persons of high rank of this date which are to be found at Beni Hasan, El Bersheh,

[1] See page 132 (Israelites).

[2] A Saite priest of the statues of Usertsen I. is mentioned on an inscription in the Musée Guimet, Paris.

and other places, show the prosperity of the country. An interesting tomb of this period is that of Khnemhetep the scribe, at Beni Hasan, his pedigree and that of his family being given. One of his titles is "Great Chief of the Oryx Nome," and another, "Ha-Prince of the City of Menat Khufu," the capital of the eastern district, of which he was hereditary governor. He was a great favourite of King Amenemhat II., and was given the arrangement of many religious rites and festival ceremonies.

Sa-Hathor was the architect of the king's pyramid, which was called Kherp ("The Wielder"), but it has not yet been found; he relates on a tablet that he made 15 statues of hard stone in 2 months. In the tomb of Tahutihetep, at El Bersheh, there is a remarkable illustration of a colossal statue placed on a sledge being dragged with ropes by hundreds of men.

The biography of Sebek-khu, found on a stela, brings in the names of three XII Dynasty kings. This man was born in the 27th year of Amenemhat II.; in the following reign, that of Usertsen III., was "chief messenger of the royal city," and under Amenemhat III. was raised to the rank of a "follower of the king." Here we have a good example of the value of private history as a guide to chronologers in placing the kings in their right sequence.

USERTSEN II., KHA-KHEPER-RA.—Of this king's reign we have some interesting records, and fortunately both his pyramid and pyramid town have been discovered at Illahun, on the road to the Fayûm. The pyramid, called Hetep ("Peace"), is built upon the solid rock, on which thick walls of brick are placed, the whole being cased with limestone. The pyramid, like others, is entered by a narrow passage; the first room is lined with limestone, the next with red granite, and in this the sarcophagus was found. The workmanship throughout is very beautiful and exact; but much destruction took place in the time of Rameses II., who removed great blocks of stone and used them elsewhere.

Near this pyramid stood several smaller ones, and the remains of a temple. At a little distance was the town in which the workmen lived; this covered 18 acres. The whole has been excavated and the streets cleared, bringing to light more than 2000 rooms and many objects of interest. A great quantity of papyri were found here.

In the tomb of Khnemhetep, already mentioned, there exists a painting covering a part of the north side of the chamber, and representing a long procession of persons approaching Khnemhetep with great ceremony, which took place in the 6th

year of Usertsen II. After being introduced by the scribe, the chief Absha advances, leading a Sinaitic ibex, and followed by a number of people carrying tribute of a kind of paint used for beautifying the eyes, and "which was furnished by the Arabs, or Shasu, who inhabited the land called Pitshu" (Midian). These persons were accompanied by their families, some of the women being dressed in gay-coloured garments of Persian pattern, quite unlike any worn in Egypt at that time. Several donkeys follow, laden with their baggage and belongings. On one are seated two children. The faces resemble those of the Bedawin of the Syrian Desert at the present day. The women have long black hair, and wear coloured circlets round their heads. The men are armed with bows, arrows, and spears. This picture was once thought to represent the entrance of the Israelites into Egypt, but the variation in the dates renders this impossible, though the scene of the visit of Joseph's brethren must in many ways have resembled this. It would appear, in fact, from the records, that similar immigrations of Syrian families took place from time to time.

The queen of Usertsen II. was named Nefret. Her statue was found at Tanis, where her titles are given—"Hereditary Princess," "Beloved Consort," "The Greatly Praised," "The Ruler of all Women," etc. She wears a very curious thick wavy wig in rolls round her face, with long drooping ends curled up at the points, from which it may be conjectured that she was a foreigner—of what race cannot yet be decided.

There are several statues of the king, also small scarabs, rings, and other objects. A papyrus found at Kahûn by Borchardt gives the astronomical date of the year of Usertsen II., which can be variously calculated.

USERTSEN III., KHA-KAU-RA.—This king did much to restore the temples both in Upper and Lower Egypt, and placed a statue of himself in the island of Bigeh, in honour of the gods. A tablet on the island of Sehel, by the First Cataract, records the construction there of a great canal, deep enough for large ships, 150 cubits in length.

Usertsen III. had several successful campaigns against the southern tribes. Some of the temples in Nubia are dedicated to "Tetun," the local name given to Usertsen by the Nubians, who regarded this king in the light of a god. He extended his boundaries to Heh in the 16th year of his reign, and erected two forts at Semneh and Khummeh to protect the frontier, and forbade any negro to pass this limit, either on foot or by boat, except for the purposes of trade, in which case he was to be well treated. The pyramid of this king is at Dahshur,

south of Sakkara, the height 321 feet; its form differs from all other pyramids, being truncated at the base, which is 619 feet. That of his queen, Hent-taui, has been excavated; also that of the Princess Sent-es-senb and of Princess Sat-hathor, whose jewellery was found in a casket. It is of most exquisite workmanship, and looks as if made yesterday. A pectoral of gold and precious stones has been found of this king; these are now in the Cairo Museum. A large shrine and base of this king's statue were found in the Delta.

A hymn of praise of Usertsen III. was discovered on a papyrus at Kahûn. It consists of several stanzas, and is remarkable not only for its sentiments, but for its careful construction. It extols the king's deeds and victories, and gives thanks to him as a god for the blessings of peace. It concludes as follows:—

"He has come, he has ruled Egypt,
He has placed the desert in his power.
He has come, he has protected the two lands,
He has given peace in the two regions.
He has come, he has made Egypt to live,
He has destroyed its afflictions.
He has come, we bring up our children,
We bury our aged by his good favour." [1]

AMENEMHAT III., MAAT-EN-RA.—This king did more to promote irrigation works than any of his predecessors since the days of Mena. By means of a great dyke, he regulated the overflow of water from the Nile into the Western Desert, and stored it in a vast reservoir, with flood-gates which were opened and closed when needed. This formed the famous Lake Moeris, the exact site of which has been a matter of so much dispute. In this way he reclaimed 20,000 acres of land in the Fayûm, so called from the ancient Egyptian word "Phiom," a lake. It is owing to this great work that the Fayûm has ever since remained a most fertile district.

Amenemhat III. interested himself very much in the rise and fall of the river, and marked its variations on many rocks and stones along its course. He erected in the Fayûm an enormous temple, called the "Labyrinth," of which not a vestige remains. The stone for this building was brought from Tura, where there is a fine inscription recording the fact. Strabo states that the "Labyrinth" stood on the canal between the Nile and Arsinoë, which statement is confirmed by a papyrus found at Gurob, proving the site to be near Hawara, where the king built his pyramid. It differed somewhat in construction from others, for

[1] Petrie, *History of Egypt*, vol. i.

while the exterior is of brick, the sepulchral chamber is hollowed out of one block of hard yellow quartzite. The sarcophagus was made of the same fine material, beautifully cut and polished, but it was empty. A few fragments of an alabaster altar, some broken dishes in the form of half a duck, all of alabaster, and inscribed with the name of the king's daughter, Neferu, were found within it. At Biahmu, portions of a colossus were found, evidently the one described by Herodotus.

A very fine portrait bust of Amenemhat III. is in St. Petersburg, and another at Berlin. The face is strikingly handsome and powerful. According to his stela at El Kab, he reigned 44 years, and according to a papyrus from Kahûn, 46.

FU-AB-RA.—The tomb of this king has been found at Dahshur, containing his coffin and an ebony statue. He was probably a son of Amenemhat III., and was made co-regent with his father, whom he predeceased.[1]

AMENEMHAT IV., MAA-KHERU-RA.—Little is known of this king. It is possible that in the early years of his rule he was co-regent with his father, as on one or two monuments the names of father and son appear together. There are no records of public works or military expeditions in his reign, which only lasted 9 years. Only 4 scarabs of his are known, and 4 tablets with inscriptions.

His queen, SEBEK-NEFRU-RA, shared his throne, and continued to reign after his death. Her cartouche has been found on the temple at Hawara, and in one or two other places.

This Dynasty was a brilliant epoch in Egyptian history. The strength and wisdom of the Pharaohs and their successful conquests caused prosperity throughout the kingdom. The borders of the country were enlarged and protected. The arts flourished, and great progress was also made in mining operations and in systematic cultivation.

XIII DYNASTY 2565–2112 B.C.

The history of this Dynasty is still very doubtful, the only guides being the list of kings given by Manetho, the Turin Papyrus, and the Karnak list. Owing to the number of names and their similarity, it is very difficult to disentangle them with any degree of certainty, and little individual interest attaches to each reign.

The whole country seems to have been in a most disturbed state, and subject to constant inroads by warlike tribes from

[1] Maspero considers this king to belong to the XIII Dynasty, and identifies him with the Au-ab-ra kings of the Turin Papyrus.

the East, which appear to have continued for 100 years. Manetho gives 55 kings to this Dynasty. There appears no doubt that those who immediately followed the close of the XII Dynasty reigned supreme over Upper and Lower Egypt. Some of them bore the name of Sebek-hetep, which refers to Sebek, the Crocodile god, who was more especially honoured in the Fayûm. The incursions of the Hyksos, or "Shepherd Kings," who came from Asia, grew more and more frequent, until finally they dethroned the Egyptian kings and ruled the country in their stead.

SEBEK-HETEP I., or SEKHEM-KHU-TAUI-RA, the founder of this Dynasty, appears to have married Sebek-neferu-ra, sister of Amenemhat, who reigned about 4 years. A few of his cylinders are preserved, and one papyrus found at Kahûn tells how he erected buildings at Bubastis. The title "Beloved of Ptah" was given to this king. He was succeeded by Sekhem-ka-ra, or Mashau, of whom there is a stela in the British Museum. Two statues of him also were found at Tanis. They are very fine in execution. A statue of the Wezîr of this king, named Khnems, is in the Amherst Collection.

SE-ANKH-AB-RA.—A table of offerings of this reign was found at Karnak.

SE-HETEP-AB-RA.

RA-SEBEK-HETEP.

SEBEK-HETEP II., or SEKHEM-SLUAZ-TAUI, is best known by his stela in the Louvre, which represents two female figures adoring him.

NEFER-HETEP, KHA-SESHES-RA.—This king apparently wished to do great honour to the gods. He repaired the temple at Abydos, and did all he could to carry out the precepts of the sacred writings. Statuettes of him have been found in several places, as also stelæ and scarabs, and others inscribed with the names of his parents and sisters, and of his wife, Senb-sen.

SEBEK-HETEP III., KHA-NEFER-RA.—Remains of this king have been found in many places. There are two colossal recumbent statues on an island above the Third Cataract. One is remarkable as being a unique example of a statue having a wreath carved round the top of the crown. The presence of these colossi so far up the Nile is a proof of the effort made by these kings to extend their kingdom towards the south. Monuments of this reign were also found at Gebelên, at Karnak, and even as far north as Tanis.

SEBEK-EM-SA-UF, or SEKHEM-SHEDI-TAU-RA.—Both the

Abbott and Amherst Papyri[1] speak of this latter king. They relate how his tomb was broken into and robbed by thieves, who carried away the mummies both of the king and of his wife. She was called Nub-kha-es; her family stela is in the Louvre, where she is styled "the great heiress," "the greatly favoured," "the royal wife united to the crown," and appears to have been the daughter of a member of the judicial Court. A statue of her brother is in the Vienna Museum. The Amherst Papyrus gives the confession of one of the thieves in his own words: "We found the king and queen reposing . . . we found the august mummy of the king with his divine axe beside him and many amulets and ornaments of gold about his neck. His head was overlaid above with gold . . . the august body of the king was covered with gold . . . the coffins were burnished with gold and silver . . . and inlaid with precious stones. . . . We took the gold . . . and the amulets and ornaments . . . and the coffins in which he lay. . . . Having found the royal wife, we took all that which was found with her. . . . We parted the gold, the amulets, the ornaments, and the coffins into eight pieces."

No doubt the history of this robbery serves as an example of the way in which the tombs have suffered from spoliation throughout the whole of Egypt, especially when the rulers were weak and the country unsettled.

RA-SEKHEM-NEFER-KHAU, UPUAT-EM-SAF, and RA-MEN-KHAU, SNA-AB.—A few relics of these two kings have been found. They apparently belonged to the XIII Dynasty, but their positions in it are doubtful.

All these kings reigned in Upper Egypt, probably at the same time as those of the next Dynasty of Xois and as the Hyksos kings.

Under NE-MAA-KHA-RA, who certainly belongs to the XIII Dynasty, lived a Wezîr whose name appears in the papyrus of Bulak, written probably during the reign of Sebek-hetep V.

Many other kings belonging to this period are only known by the few objects, such as scarabs and cylinders, bearing their names which have been found.

XIV DYNASTY 2112–1998 B.C.

Of the many kings whose names are recorded in the Turin Papyrus as having belonged to this Dynasty, hardly anything is known. The capital and seat of their government was Xois, but whether they were independent kings of the Western Delta,

[1] Newberry, *Amherst Papyri*, vol. i.

or subjects of the Hyksos rulers, with whom no doubt they were contemporary, we have as yet no means of ascertaining.

XV Dynasty 1998–1738 B.C.

The period during which the Hyksos ruled the country is one of much interest and speculation. It is a time of which but little is known, though the results of modern excavations are beginning to throw more light upon it. Manetho gives a list of the names of the rulers, and had all his History been in existence, much trouble would have been saved to modern writers.

Josephus declared the Hyksos race to be identical with the Hebrew, but though their origin cannot be proved, most historians agree in thinking Josephus' theory was wrong. They were without doubt a barbarous people from the East, and, after having troubled the Egyptians for many years by making incursions into their land, finally became conquerors, and established their dominion about 1998 B.C.; and it was during their occupation of Egypt that the Israelites settled in the Delta.[1]

The name "Hyksos" is translated by Manetho "hyk," or "heq," a "prince or chief"; "sos," or "shashu," "shepherd." This title "Heq-khaset," or "Chief of the Deserts," had been given to a Semitic chief called Absha as early as the XII Dynasty. The few statues as yet found of this period show a cast of features quite unlike the Egyptian type; having high cheek-bones, large thick noses and projecting lips, the expression being fierce and stern. They are mostly in the form of human-headed sphinxes which were found at Tanis and Bubastis and in the Fayûm. This type of face has been accounted for by some authorities by the supposition that whereas the greater number of the Hyksos people were of mixed Semitic races, the ruling class were Mongols. Another authority says that they came from Elam, in Eastern Chaldea, and identifies them with the Kassi; a seal of a certain Uzi-Sutekh, who was a servant of the Kassite king, having been found, he recognises in this name that of the Hyksos god Sutekh.

The religion of the Hyksos differed from that of the Egyptians, their principal god being the Semitic Baal, the Sun god, who was identified sometimes with Ra on the monuments. But the Egyptian deity whom they most honoured was Set, or Sutekh, the son of Nut, the god of all evil things and enemy of Horus. An altar dedicated to Set of Avaris is now in

[1] Genesis xlvii. 11. See page 403.

Cairo, and on a scarab found at Kom Ombos the name of one of their kings is given as Sutekh-Apepi, showing that whereas the Egyptians would have written the name with the prefix Ra, the Hyksos changed it for that of the equivalent deity of their own country. Manetho gives the name of the first king as Salatis (1998 B.C.). This, however, may not have been a proper name, but only a title, as it is the same as that meaning chief, which was given by the Pharaoh to Joseph. This king seems to have feared invasion, and to have guarded his frontiers very carefully, constructing the large fortress capital at Avaris, and maintaining a large body of troops. He reigned 19 years, and 5 other kings (according to Manetho) followed him, bearing the names of Bnôn, Apachnas, Apophis, Jannas, and Asses. Three of these five names have been identified with those on the monuments. Apophis is the same as Apepy. One Apepy is named in a red granite inscription bearing his cartouche at Bubastis. It tells how "Apepy erected many columns to this god (Bast) and a gate of brass." A lintel at Gebelên, also with his cartouche, proves that he reigned over both Upper and Lower Egypt. A papyrus containing a mathematical treatise in the British Museum mentions the 33rd year of his reign, which is supposed to have lasted for 61 years. At Tanis there is an inscription of another Apepy on a statue of Mermeshau, which reads, "Good god, Aa-qenen-ra, son of the sun, Apepa giving life beloved of Set." At El Kab another Apepy is named, so it is uncertain which of these three is to be identified with Apophis. Jannes is probably the same as SE-USER-EN-RA KHYAN. This king is named on two cylinders as a Hek-Khaskhet, meaning "Prince of the Hills" or "Desert," and he bore after his name the title Ka-ef-Mery, meaning "Beloved of his Ka," which is an unusual form, showing him to have been a foreigner. He was certainly one of the Hyksos. Not only have portions of his statues been discovered at Bubastis, Gebelên, and Memphis, but a lion inscribed with his cartouche was found at Baghdad, which points to his having been a conqueror who came from Asia and added Egypt to his eastern possessions. Khyan's name has also been found on the lid of an alabaster box discovered in the remains of the palace of Minos at Knossos, in Crete, by Mr. Evans.

It has been suggested that Asses, the last king on Manetho's list, is most likely Shesha, of whom about 100 scarabs are known. A few other names of kings should be placed in this Dynasty. Among the most important is NEHESI, of whom fragments of a statue and an obelisk were found in the Delta, and a few scarabs of his are in existence. YA-BEK-HER,

or Ya' akob-el, which is the same name as Jacob-el and UAZED.

Besides these, a number of kings whose names occur on scarabs may be classed among these Hyksos rulers, but no certainty attaches to them, and nothing is known of any particular events which marked their reigns in Egypt.

XVI DYNASTY.

Of the XVI Dynasty there are scarcely any remains, and its history is far from clear. Manetho says it consisted of 32 kings reigning 518 years, but does not give a list of names.

PREDECESSORS OF THE XVII DYNASTY 1738.

The following kings belong to the period immediately before the XVII Dynasty, but cannot be chronologically placed. They ruled in Upper Egypt. DAD-NEFER-RA, DE-DE-MES. A scene at Gebelên represents him with the two gods, Khensu and Anpu. SEBAK-KA-RA, SA-HETEP-RA, and SENB-MA-IN, whose name was found at Gebelên. SEKHEM-MA-KHA-RA, or RA-HETEP. A much broken stela of this king has been found at Koptos, from the inscription on which it would appear that he restored the temple at that place. Several scarabs are known of this period, but are of very rough workmanship.

Four kings of the name of ANTEF, formerly thought to have belonged to the XI Dynasty, should be placed near the end of what is sometimes termed the "Second Intermediate Period," that is to say, the period between the close of the XII and the beginning of the XVIII Dynasty. They ruled in Thebes, but were probably tributary to the Hyksos. Two Antefs are identified by their coffins, now in the Louvre; the tomb of a third is named in the Abbott Papyrus, and of the fourth a little more is known.

ANTEF'S other name was NUB-KHEPER-RA. A statuette shows this king as conqueror over negroes and Asiatics, but no account is given of his campaigns. A long decree of the 3rd year of his reign, in the same style of cutting as the stela of Antef IV., is inscribed on a doorway of Usertsen I. at Koptos. It is curious as throwing light on the administration of the king, and is addressed to all the officials of the temple, and states that "My Majesty sent . . . to make inquisition in the temple of Min . . . that an evil thing has come to pass in this temple, even a harbouring of enemies by (blasted be his name) Teta, son of Minhetep. Therefore let him be cast out . . . driven

from his office . . . let his name not be remembered . . . let not any man of his circle of the relations of his father or of his mother be raised to this office. . . ."

This degradation of one of the feudal princes is very important, as it shows how admirably justice was administered against treason, even at this early period. This Antef's tomb was at Thebes, and two obelisks with his name and titles were found outside it, but were unfortunately lost in the Nile. Scarabs are known inscribed with his cartouche. It was possibly this Antef who was the husband of Sebek-em-sa-ef. She was probably descended from the Sebek-hetep kings of the XIII Dynasty,[1] a gold pendant bearing both these names having recently been found at Edfu. This is a most interesting fact, as it forms a link connecting the Antefs with the Sebek-em-sa-efs. Further, it appears that the inheritance of the kingdom passed to the daughter of Antef and Sebek-em-sa-ef. That this daughter was Aa-hetep, the wife of Se-qen-en-ra, and mother of Aahmes, is quite possible, as a stela found at Edfu mentions how that queen restored the tomb of "The Royal daughter, Sebek-em-sa-ef," in that place, and the figures on it show the two royal ladies together as apparently being members of one family.

Following these Antefs came several other kings[2] who should probably head the list of the XVII Dynasty. Among them :—

SE-QEN-EN-RA TAU-AA, whose tomb is noticed in the Abbott Papyrus, and was examined and found "intact" in the XX Dynasty. He was followed by SE-QEN-EN-RA TAU-AA-AA (1635 B.C.), whose tomb, also found "intact," is described in the papyrus just mentioned.

SE-QEN-EN-RA TA-AA-QEN succeeded: his coffin and mummy were found near Dêr el Bahari, at Thebes. The mummy shows that he met with a violent death, having three wounds on the head. The king was tall and slight, of the Berber type, and had long black hair. His wife, Aah-hetep, was a very remarkable queen. She had been already married to an Egyptian, and had a son Aahmes, afterwards celebrated as the Conqueror. She lived to a great age and in eventful times, seeing the Hyksos Dynasty overthrown, and her sons and grandsons rise to power. The beautiful coffin overlaid with gold, containing her mummy and many magnificent jewels, which was found at Thebes, is now in the Museum at Cairo, and one of the most wonderful ever discovered in Egypt. The jewels are mostly of gold inlaid with enamel of rare and delicate workmanship, and those on the body bear the

[1] Newberry, *Pro. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Nov. 1902. [2] See list, page 448.

name of her son Aahmes. A golden boat was also found in the coffin with the name of her son Kames, and a breastplate of gold inlaid with precious stones. Aah-hetep had several other sons and daughters of her second marriage, amongst whom was the lovely Nefert-ari, who eventually became heiress to the throne.

UAZ-KHEPER-RA, or KAMES.—Kames succeeded his father Se-qen-en-ra, but his reign presents very little of interest. His tomb is one of those described in the Abbott Papyrus, being found "intact" in the reign of Rameses IX. He is said to have been strong and brave, "Beloved of Ra and Tehuti." His reign was a short one, and but few monuments which bear his cartouche have been found.

SEKHENT-NEB-RA, or SENEKHT-EN-RA.—The struggle to shake off the Hyksos yoke appears to have begun in this reign, when the Nubian princes of Thebes began gradually to undermine their power.

The papyrus known as Sallier II. gives particulars of the war, but is only fragmentary; it shows, however, that the Hyksos were hard masters and exceedingly unpopular, and that the Theban princes were joined by the rest of Egypt in their efforts for freedom. Much desultory warfare resulted, although the Hyksos were not finally driven out till the conquest of Aahmes, the first king of Manetho's XVII Dynasty.

PART III

XVII AND XVIII DYNASTIES.

"The hundred-gated cities then,
The towers and temples named of men
Eternal and the thrones of kings,
. . . . .
Ask ye the destiny of them?"

MILMAN: *Tale of Jerusalem.*

The number of kings in these Dynasties seems to be about 14, as far as can be made out by comparing the lists handed down with the monuments and relics. The length of the reigns cannot be accurately fixed, owing to several of the monarchs having begun to rule during the lifetime of their predecessors. The royal daughters had an equal right to the succession, which causes further complication, though a good basis for calculations is given by the mention of the recurrence of the Sed festival.

WOODEN FIGURES IN COSTUMES OF THE XVIII DYNASTY

These Dynasties lasted about 250 years, and were the most remarkable in Egyptian history.

AAHMES, or NEB-PEHTI-RA,[1] AMOSIS (1587–1562 B.C.), the first king of Manetho's XVII Dynasty, succeeded in overthrowing the Hyksos completely. He seized their stronghold at Avaris, and drove them from Egypt into Palestine with great slaughter. It was, however, long before the country was at peace, as there was more than one pretender to the throne, and in consequence troubles arose. King Aahmes was a valiant warrior, and one of his distinguished commanders, also called Aahmes, who lived to a great age, has recorded some of the events of these times in his interesting tomb at El Kab.

The mummy of King Aahmes was found at Dêr el Bahari, where it had been placed during the reign of Pai-nezem.[1] The coffin, which was taken to Cairo, is shaped like the human figure, and painted yellow, with patterns and writings in blue. The head of the king was small, and covered with wavy hair. He appears to have been about 50 years of age.

Aahmes married his sister Nefretari, joint heiress with himself to the throne. He and his wife were more venerated than almost any other rulers, and their portraits adoring the gods are placed at Abydos, Karnak, Thebes, and elsewhere. Nefretari was the patron goddess of the Theban necropolis, and the site of her temple was discovered by Spiegelberg and Newberry in 1898.

The name "Aahmes" signifies "Child of the Moon."[2] The great Queen Nefretari was styled "Great Royal Wife," "Royal Sister," "Royal Mother," "Mistress of Both Lands," etc. A headless statue of her lies at Karnak, and some smaller figures exist both in stone and wood, the best portrait of her being that in the Museum of Turin. Aahmes and his wife had many children, some of whom died young. Their cartouches for the most part bear the name of Aahmes. On the death of her husband, Nefretari refused to give up her sovereign title, being the first queen to claim this right. We therefore find that until her death she was co-regent with her son and successor. Her coffin, found at Dêr el Bahari, is made of linen cartonage. It is 10 feet 4 inches in height, and coloured yellow, with patterns and hieroglyphs painted in blue. In each hand, crossed on the breast, is an ankh; the body, head, and head-dress are covered with a raised network. Two mummies lay within this huge coffin, one probably being that of the queen. Owing to long exposure and neglect after its discovery,

[1] See page 158.

[2] The variant Aah-mesu proves that the literal translation should read, "The god Aah (the moon) has given birth to him."

it was found impossible to study its details, which is a sad loss to Egyptian history.

ZESER-KA-RA, or AMENHETEP I. (1562–1541 B.C.), son of Aahmes and Nefretari, succeeded. It is to the "Chief of the Sailors," Aahmes, we are indebted for a record of the events of this reign. From the inscriptions on the walls of his tomb at El Kab, he seems to have accompanied his royal master on his journey to Kush to extend his frontier. The expedition brought back, not only many Nubian prisoners and slaves, but also An Khent, the chief of that country. After these triumphs the king rested secure from attacks on both southern and western frontiers. Aahmes, in the autobiography in his tomb, says, "My father was captain of the deceased Se-qen-en-Ra Baba. . . . I became captain in his place on the ship 'The Calf,' in the time of the lord of the country Aahmes. . . . I was taken on the ship 'The North' because of my strength. . . . Then was I changed to the ship 'Ascent in Memphis.'" They fought by sea on the Lake Pazedku, of Avaris. "I fought in a struggle and I gained a hand.[1] . . . They raised me to the rank of captain of the sailors. . . . Now I have passed many days and reached a grey old age, my lot will be that of all men upon earth." He also says, "I was presented with a gold chain eight times, in the sight of the whole land."

Another account of the victory in Kush is found in the tomb of Aahmes Pen-nekheb, also at El Kab. Amenhetep I. had other battles with the Tahenu, a Libyan people. He added to the buildings at Karnak, where there exist chapels and remains of doors bearing his name. On the western side of the river at Silsileh, there is a figure of the king by Paynamen, carved in sandstone. Statues have also been found there, and at Thebes, and some interesting inscriptions were discovered on fragments in the temple of Mut. Statuettes in limestone are found of delicate work, and also carved wooden tablets, some of which represent the king riding in his chariot and smiting down his foes. His queen was his sister, Aah-hetep II., whose coffin was found at Dêr el Bahari, and scarabs are known of her. She was the mother of Queen Aahmes, wife of Thothmes I., and of the princes Uazmes and Amenmes.

The tomb of Amenhetep is described at length in the report on the royal tombs in the Abbott Papyrus. The tomb, which has not yet been found, extended, according to the report, for over "120 cubits" back into the mountain-side, and appears to have been the first of this form of burial-place, so much used in later periods. The site of the temple of Amenhetep has

[1] *i.e.* took a prisoner.

been discovered on the edge of the desert, near Drah abu'l Negga. It is therefore probable that his tomb lies in that neighbourhood. The coffin of the king was amongst those at Dêr el Bahari. It is without gilding, its only ornamentation being bands of hieroglyphic inscriptions. The mummy of the king inside was decorated with wreaths; the wrappings were renewed by Pai-nezem when he placed the body in safety.

TAHUTIMES, or THOTHMES I.,[1] AA-KHEPER-KA-RA (1541–1516 B.C.).—Tahutimes is a transliteration of the hieroglyphic form of this name, but the kings bearing it are better known under the name of Thothmes. A copy of the royal Edict for the Coronation of Thothmes I. has been found at Elephantine, giving all his royal titles and the name of his "royal Mother, Sen-senb," another wife of Amenhetep I. "This is written that thou mayest know it, and that the royal house is safe and strong. The first year, Phamenoth day 21, day of Coronation."

Little is known of the wars of Thothmes I., but Aahmes, now an old man, who was "Chief of the Sailors" under his father, appears to have accompanied him to Khent-hen-nefer against incursions of the hill tribes, and also in a campaign against the Nubians of Kush. There are inscriptions recording his greatness at Tombos in Nubia, but no particulars of the war are given. He invaded Syria and Naharaim (Mesopotamia), and established his frontier on the Euphrates, where he placed a tablet.

The gilded coffin of the king was found at Dêr el Bahari; it was much damaged, having been re-used by Pai-nezem I., but Thothmes' name could clearly be seen. A nameless mummy found in the coffin is believed by Maspero to be that of the king, and shows him to have been a strong, vigorous old man.

Thothmes I. rebuilt the temple of Set at Nubt, near Naqada, and erected one at Medinet Habu, which he began to decorate; but his work has been much damaged by his successors. He also began the temple of Dêr el Bahari, and at Karnak there is a long inscription setting forth his deeds, and declaring his daughter Hatshepsut co-regent. Another record of this king is inscribed on the rocks at Aswân, stating that he and his son Prince Turo came to Kush to "crush the vile" Ethiopians, and desiring that the canal which had been made by Usertsen III. should be kept clear and free from stones. "His Majesty passed up it, his heart rejoicing." Further rock inscriptions are found in Ethiopia; and on the island of Argo is a stela known as the "Golden Stone." In the forts at Semneh and Kummeh are remains of his building. At Turin

[1] With this king probably begins Manetho's XVIII Dynasty.

there is a life-size statue of this king, and a seated colossus at Karnak was erected to his memory by his son, Thothmes II. Beautiful coloured portraits of Thothmes I.[1] and of his queen Aahmes, who was his half-sister and queen in her own right, are in the temple of Dêr el Bahari. She was the mother of Hatshepsut. Queen Mutnefert, another wife of Thothmes I., was the daughter of Queen Aah-hetep and Amenhetep I. She was the mother of Thothmes II. A statue of her was found in the chapel of Uazmes, with the inscription, "The good god Aa-kheper-en-Ra, made by him his monument of his Mother, Royal Wife, Royal Mother, Mut-nefert."

TAHUTIMES, or THOTHMES II., AA-KHEPER-EN-RA (1516–1503 B.C.).—Thothmes II. succeeded his father, with whom he had been co-regent for a short time; but he was very delicate, and did not live long. An inscription at Aswân records a successful expedition against the Kushites, made during the first year of his reign; but he did not take an active part in it, as it is related that the prisoners and spoil were brought back to him by Aahmes Pen-nekheb, who received costly gifts from the king as a reward. It goes on to say that he was "revered in the lands of the Hanebû (or Mediterranean). . . . His arms were not repulsed from the land of the Fenkhû" (Phœnicians).

The building at Karnak was continued by him, and also works at Esneh and other places as far south as Gebel Barkal. His sister-wife Hatshepsut being much stronger than the king both in mind and body, was the real ruler, and before his death she became co-regent, and continued as such during the reign of Thothmes III. until her death. A daughter, Neferu-ra, appears on the monuments, but she did not come to the throne, and died unmarried.

The building of the temple of Dêr el Bahari was continued in this reign, but the portraits of Thothmes II. were erased by his queen-sister.

HATSHEPSUT, or MAAT-KA-RA (1516–1481 B.C.).—Hatshepsut was a daughter of Thothmes I. and Aahmes. Her father had bestowed great care on her education, having appointed tutors when she was quite young to teach her "the arts" and "practice of governing," so that when he became ill and feeble she assisted him in the task. When he died, she was left, at about 24 years of age, as co-regent with her brother Thothmes II., whom she shortly afterwards married. He had no direct claim to the throne, his mother Mut-nefert not having been a royal wife. Upon his death, Hatshepsut became sole queen, assuming kingly titles and wearing the dress of a king. In many in-

[1] Copied by Mr. Howard Carter for Egypt. Ex. Fund.

scriptions she is styled "*Lord* of the Two Lands," and "*His* Majesty."

The kingdom being now at peace, this great queen devoted her energies to the encouragement of the arts. Her most important work was the erection of the temple at Dêr el Bahari, on the west side of the Nile, at Thebes. It was called Zeser Zeseru, or "Most Splendid of All." It consisted of three great platforms rising towards the mountain. The wall of the south colonnade of the middle platform is sculptured with scenes representing the celebrated expedition to Punt.[1] Each scene is graphically reproduced. We see the departure of the fleet of 8 ships, which are drawn in great detail, the water beneath them being coloured blue to indicate the Nile, and the fish depicted being Nile fish. In the drawings showing the ships at Punt, the water is coloured green to indicate the sea, and the fish drawn have been identified as fish of the Red Sea. The land of Punt is shown as flat and wooded; the conical roofed huts of the people are built on piles, and are reached by ladders. Perhaps the most interesting scene is that showing the Prince Parihu and his enormously fat wife and his daughter, who promises to rival her mother in size, with two red-faced sons leading "the ass that carries the queen," accompanied by a large retinue bringing tribute to the Egyptians. This consisted of ebony, tusks, cattle, many strange animals, and piles of incense, besides the precious incense trees which are shown slung on poles carried on the shoulders of two men. The final scene records the safe return of the expedition and the offering of all the tribute and treasure to the god Amen.

Elsewhere on the walls of the temple there are sculptured portraits of Queen Hatshepsut, some showing her dressed like a man and wearing a beard, and another feeding the sacred cow of Hathor, called "The Red Cow." There are portraits of many of the royal personages of the Dynasty, including those of the three Thothmes, of Queen Aahmes, and of the two princesses, Neferu-ra and Kheb-neferu.

Queen Hatshepsut erected the two great obelisks at Karnak. One of these, the largest known, being 97½ feet high, bears an inscription on its base telling how it was quarried at Aswân, transported down the Nile, sculptured, and set up in the short space of 7 months. The dedicatory inscription contains the following lines:—". . . two great obelisks of hard granite of the south, the point of each is of electrum. . . . They are seen on both sides of the valley, the two lands are bathed in their splendour. . . . The sun's disk rises between them, as when it

[1] See page 112 (Mentuhetep IV.).

rises from the horizon of heaven. . . . I have done this from a heart full of love for my divine father Amen . . . to the end that my name should remain established in this temple for ever and ever."

Inscriptions at Aswân and Hammamat record the quarrying of stone at those places. Many beautiful objects have been found, showing the taste and skill of the workmen in this reign. A glazed draught-board with draughtsmen in the form of lions' heads, supposed to have belonged to this queen, are in the Cairo Museum, also glass beads, alabaster vases, and many other artistic objects. The queen was greatly assisted by Senmut, the architect of her temple, a very clever and remarkable man, who was tutor to Neferu-ra, the daughter of Hatshepsut, and seems to have been a wise counsellor and steadfast friend to the queen, who loved and valued him greatly.

The energy of Hatshepsut was untiring: she worked the mines of Sinai, and reopened those at Sarbut el Khadîm, and established the manufacture of glass and glazed ware coloured with copper.

A tomb, presumably hers, has just been discovered,[1] but has not yet been excavated. She reigned until her death, at about the age of 59, and never gave up her authority, although Thothmes III. was nominally king, and this peaceful time gave the country rest and prepared it for the brilliant campaigns which were so soon to mark the reign of her successor.

TAHUTIMES, or THOTHMES III., MEN-KHEPER-RA (1503–1449 B.C.).—Thothmes III. was 9 years old when he succeeded to the throne. He was the son of Thothmes II. and Aset, but as she was not of royal rank he only reigned by right of his marriage with his half-sister Merŷt-Ra-Hatshepsut, the daughter of Queen Hatshepsut. It was not until he was 31 years old that Queen Hatshepsut died and left him sole ruler, and free to begin the career of conquest which lasted nearly the whole of his reign.

From very early times the Egyptians had intercourse with Syria, which was at first limited to expeditions against the warlike tribes of the frontier. The story of Sanehat,[2] written in the XII Dynasty, describing his life among the Bedawin nomads of the Syrian border, was a popular tale with the Egyptians, but the country beyond was shrouded in mystery and romance. Syria was inhabited by Semitic tribes, who copied the manners and customs of the Chaldeans, and had a similar religion, worshipping Baal and Astarte. To the far north lived the Mitani and the Naharaim. The Amorites and

[1] By Mr. Howard Carter.

[2] See page 114.

THOTHMES III. FROM DER-EL-BAHRI

Hittites spread farther to the south; and along the seacoast dwelt the Phœnician settlers. The Egyptians classed these Syrian peoples under various names, calling the dwellers on the south coast Kharū, and the tribes of the Southern Desert Zahi and Shasū, and others farther north Retennu, or Lotanū.[1] The name Amū was given by them to all inhabitants of Syria, whether Canaanitish or Aramæan, while the Hittites were called by them Kheti. Though, since the days of Usertsen, Syrian border tribes had occasionally immigrated into the Delta, these inroads of settlers did not become very frequent until after the conquest of the Hyksos. When these were at length driven out, it was natural that the Egyptians should desire to push their victory farther and make themselves masters of the country of their late oppressors. The fertile land, well cultivated and irrigated, dotted with towns, castles, and migdols, or fortresses, was a tempting prey. Just at this time all the northern part was in the hands of the powerful Hittites, but the rest of the country, weakened by internal strife and divisions, easily fell into the hands of the invaders.

On the 23rd anniversary of the coronation of Thothmes III., the year following the queen's death, he started on an expedition against Syria, marching at the head of his army to Gaza, and thence to Carmel. Afterwards he crossed the mountain to Megiddo, the modern El Lejjun, in the plain of Esdraelon, which he besieged on the 21st day of Pakhon, issuing a stirring address to his troops to do their duty. Next morning he gave battle to the Syrian chiefs, and defeated them in the great fight of Armageddon. The enemy fled, and all the spoil fell into the victors' hands; gold and silver, chariots and horses, precious stones and furniture beautifully inlaid with gold and ivory; besides corn, wine, and oil sufficient for the needs of the whole army. Wonderful accounts are given at Karnak of the campaigns against the Syrian Assuru and Retennu in the 24th year of Thothmes, when the spoil included gold and silver dishes and suits of bronzed armour inlaid with gold. He also pushed the Nubian frontier farther south, and made his capital at Nepata (Gebel Barkal). Other campaigns followed, several of which are described on a stela at Wady Halfa, as well as at Karnak. Each year of the reign had its record of victories. Fifteen different campaigns of this king are enumerated, and the accounts tell of triumphs over foreign foes, and give long lists of captives and spoils. His biographers tell of the king's bravery, both in battle and in sport. He hunted 120 elephants for their tusks, and seems to have accompanied his troops on their different expeditions.

[1] Maspero.

Thothmes did not neglect other work: he erected a great gateway at Heliopolis, and rebuilt the temple at Koptos, but the finest architectural remains of this reign are at Karnak. His temple there shows originality of design, the form of the capitals of the columns being unique. On the walls of the chambers to the south are representations of trees, plants, and animals not indigenous in the country. Thothmes finished the buildings which Hatshepsut had begun at Dêr el Bahari; and evidently wishing to wipe out the remembrance of that great queen, so that the glories of his own reign should not suffer by comparison, he caused her name to be obliterated from many of the cartouches and his own put in its place. He erected obelisks at Dêr el Bahari; one is now in Rome. Of the two obelisks set up by Thothmes III. at Heliopolis, and re-inscribed by Rameses II. and Osorken I., one known as "Cleopatra's Needle" is now in London, and the other in New York. He also completed the temple begun by his grandfather at Medinet Habu, and numerous stelæ throughout the country record his deeds of valour and the great improvements effected by him. He erected many temples in Nubia, besides gateways and lesser buildings. He encouraged the manufacture of glass and pottery, the carving of objects in alabaster and stone, and the working of metals. In the 50th year of his reign he caused the channel in the cataract to be again cleaned out, and appointed the fishermen of Elephantine to keep it in repair.

There are numerous statues of Thothmes III., in black, red, or grey granite, but they are generally small. They show him to have had the handsome features characteristic of all the members of the royal family of the XVIII Dynasty. A specially fine portrait of him is painted on the walls of Dêr el Bahari.[1] According to the inscription on the tomb of Amen-em-heb at Kurneh—"The king ended his time of existence of many good years of victory and power, commencing at the first year and ending at his fifty-fourth year in the thirtieth of the month Pharminoth of [the reign] of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ra-men-kheper—Thothmes [III.] justified." His popularity never waned, and the reign of Thothmes III. was undoubtedly one of the most glorious epochs in the history of Egypt. The number of captives of Syrian and other conquered tribes infused a new element into the Egyptian race, and a striking change took place not only in their habits and customs, but in their language, which became impregnated with many new words and idioms. Alterations were made in the writing, and many new and beautiful arts were introduced. The severity of the former

[1] See frontispiece.

fashions in clothes and hair-dressing was abandoned, and one more flowing was adopted. The carving in the bas-reliefs and statues became much more free and graceful in treatment. The scarabs of this king are numerous, and other interesting objects bear his name; among them is a boat beautifully executed in wood.[1]

The queen of Thothmes III., Meryt-ra-Hatshepsut, survived him. Her portrait appears at Medinet Habu, and her name on the figure of a sphinx now in Rome. Another wife, perhaps the first, was Sat-aah. Her cartouche is in Thothmes' tomb at Thebes, and she was the daughter of her husband's nurse. A third wife was Nebt-u, but her name does not occur in a cartouche in his tomb.

Many interesting details of the life and habits of the people during this reign may be gathered from the pictures in their tombs, especially in that of Rekh-ma-ra, the Grand Wezir, at Kurneh, which has been so beautifully described by Newberry.[2]

The tomb of Thothmes was discovered in 1898 in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. The walls have the appearance of being covered with papyri, the subject of the inscriptions being the "Book of Hours." In one chamber is a complete list of the gods of the period, which is unique and invaluable. The sarcophagus is still in the sepulchral chamber, but the mummy was one of those removed in a later Dynasty, and deposited at Dêr el Bahari for safety. It is now in the Cairo Museum.

AMENHETEP II., or AA-KHEPERU-RA (1449–1423 B.C.).—Amenhetep II. succeeded his father, Thothmes III., when about 18 years old, but how long before he had assisted in the government of the country is not certain. In a private tomb at Kurneh he is represented as a child seated on his nurse's knee, and again standing by his mother receiving New Year's gifts; amongst them is a golden tree with monkeys climbing in its branches, a chariot of silver and gold, articles of jewellery, bronze daggers, leather quivers, glass vases, fans, a gazelle and an ibex on stands, and many other presents suitable for a boy. In the 3rd year of his reign he made expeditions into Asia and Palestine, and his victories are recorded on a tablet at Amâdeh (in Nubia). He returned triumphant, with the bodies of 7 kings slain by himself hanging by the feet in front of his ship, and established his dominion at Nepata. At Kurneh, in another tomb, there is a list of captives from many foreign lands. After this time Amenhetep's reign was peaceful, and,

[1] See illustration.

[2] Newberry, *The Life of Rekh-ma-ra.*

like his ancestors, he restored temples, several beautiful specimens of his work remaining.

Amenhetep finished the temple of Amâdeh, one of the most beautifully decorated in Egypt. The colours remain as fresh as ever, and the manner of its building is described upon its walls . . . "of stone as a lasting work, with a projecting wall of brick around it. Doors of acacia wood . . . a terrace, massive gates and tower of durable stone, a corridor of hard stone columns." A list of sacrificial vessels mentions those of silver and gold, iron stands, and an iron kettle, a brazier and fireholders. The temple was dedicated to Harmakhis and Amen-Ra.

There are traces of the work of this king throughout the country, from Bubastis to Nepata. A stela of his time in the quarries of Tura shows that he obtained building material there. Small objects of this period are not uncommon, and some scarabs are peculiar in form. There are at Thebes many fine private tombs of this reign, among the most important being those of Ken-amen, husband of the queen's nurse, and of two nobles, Horemheb and Sennefer.

Amenhetep's queen was named Ta'aa. She was the mother of his son and successor, Thothmes IV. From an inscription on a wine jar found at the Ramesseum, some believe that Amenhetep II. reigned 26 years. His tomb was discovered at the same time as that of Thothmes III. in the Valley of Tombs at Thebes, and is decorated in the same style. The king's mummy, ornamented with wreaths, was found "intact" in his very fine sarcophagus, and was unrolled in 1902. On the breast was a small bunch of "sont," or mimosa flowers. Everything in this tomb was left *in situ*, and consequently it has an unique interest.

TAHUTIMES, or THOTHMES IV., MEN-KHEPRU-RA (1423–1414 B.C.).—In his youth this king was fond of hunting the lion and gazelle, and one day when hot and tired rested under the shadow of the Great Sphinx. Here he fell asleep, and dreamed that he should wear the red crown of Lower Egypt and the white crown of Upper Egypt, and receive tribute from all nations, in return for which honour from the gods he was to clear away the sand which was destroying the Sphinx. When he came to the throne, he remembered his dream, ordered the sand to be removed from the figure of the god, and placed a tablet recording this work between its paws. In the early part of his reign he went to Syria to quell disturbances, and later, undertook expeditions into Nubia. He continued to work the mines of Sinai, and his inscriptions and monuments are found at Karnak, Elephantine, Amâdeh, and other places. His queen was Mut-em-ua; her name appears in several places at Luxor,

and on an inscription on a wonderful bark of granite in the British Museum. She is called "Great Royal Wife," and was specially worshipped as the mother of Amenhetep III.; and from her portrait she must have been very lovely. Thothmes IV. had several children, and at least 5 are figured in the tomb of Heq-er-neheh at Thebes. There is also reason to believe that the labels found by Rhind at Kurneh give the names of some of his daughters; the portrait of one of them, called Amen-em-apet, is to be seen in the tomb of Hor-em-heb at Kurneh, where there are several important tombs of private individuals.[1]

The tomb of Thothmes IV. was opened by Howard Carter in 1902. The most interesting object found was a portion of the chariot of the king.[2]

AMENHETEP III., NEB-MAAT-RA (1414–1379 B.C.).—Amenhetep III. was probably about 16 years old when he came to the throne. His marriage with Thyi is recorded on a scarab giving the names of her father and mother, Yuaa and Thuaa. Another large scarab has been discovered, which mentions that the king undertook a great hunting expedition in the second year of his reign. They sailed down the Nile to "Sheta," where Amenhetep mounted on a horse, and, accompanied by his whole army, slew 85 wild cattle in two days.

He was a great lion-hunter also, and it is recorded on a third scarab that he himself slew 102 lions between the 1st and the 10th years of his reign. Many examples of the large scarabs on which these exploits are recorded have been found. His foreign marriage greatly influenced his life, as is shown by the further development of Syrian ideas in art and religion. The queen was much beloved, and was associated with the king in all his undertakings, her figure appearing beside his on scarabs and monuments. He built his palace on the edge of the desert, a little way to the south-west of Medinet Habu. The site has recently been cleared by Robb. de P. Tytus and Newberry, who have discovered many beautiful paintings on the ruins of the walls and ceilings, showing what a magnificent building it must have been. Unfortunately, being of brick, it has fallen into ruin.

One of the king's great public works was the making of a tank near this palace. A scarab dated in his 11th year records that he gave orders that a lake should be made for his queen, Thyi, in her town of Zarukha. Its breadth was to be 3700 cubits, and its width 700 cubits. Zarukha was at Thebes, and it is now conjectured that the Birket-Habu is a survival of this reservoir. The barge in which he sailed upon it was named

[1] Her label is now in the Amherst Collection. [2] See page 36.

"The Dewy Aten," thus showing that the worship of the sun's disk, or Aten, was evidently favoured by Queen Thyi, for whose pleasure the lake was made. Thyi and her daughters accompanied the king to the great festival at Soleb, in Nubia, where there is a stela commemorating the conquest of the country about the 18th year of his reign. Several other monuments describing this campaign were found at Nepata.

The king added to and embellished many temples at Memphis, Gurob, and Karnak. He constructed an avenue of 120 sphinxes carved in sandstone before the temple of Khensu, and erected a great pylon as a front to the temple of Amen. Here also are sculptures of two large ships with cabins in the centre, showing the king standing on the poop. The largest vessel is propelled by 30 or 40 rowers, and tows the barge of Amen. At Luxor another great temple was built, with a hall containing 4 rows of 8 columns, which was approached by an avenue of 14 columns.

On the western bank of the Nile, Amenhetep built a large temple. The architect was also called Amenhetep. He was the son of Hapi, the Paapis[1] mentioned by Manetho in his account of the Israelitish Exodus. Of this temple the two well-known colossi are the only remains. Originally single blocks of Nubian sandstone, they are 69 feet high, and are calculated to weigh 1100 tons. They represent the king himself, and small statues of his mother, Mut-em-ua, and his wife, Thyi, are placed on the same bases. The southern one is the most perfect, but both were damaged by a severe earthquake in 27 B.C., the northern one having been thrown down and much defaced. This last was known in later days as the famous "Vocal Memnon," owing to the sweet sounds it emitted from time to time. Many travellers came from far to hear the phenomenon, several of whom have described their impressions upon the statue and its base. Some curious verses by Balbilla, a Court poetess of the time of Hadrian, are among these. Several statues of his are known, and one which was found in 1901 at Karnak, represents him as an old man, though the inscription says he hopes to live 110 years.

The chapel of Uazmes (son of Amenhetep I.), at Thebes, was restored by Amenhetep III. A beautiful temple at El Kab, a shrine at Silsileh, and many other buildings, also the frequent occurrence throughout the country of the names and titles of private individuals, prove the great prosperity of the times and the stability of his rule.

Many portraits of the king and his wife have been found in

[1] See page 149.

different places, but little is known of their children. One daughter was called Setamen; two others, Ast and Hentmer-heb, are figured on the stela at Soleb; and perhaps a fourth, named Bakt-aten, whose portrait is at Tell el Amarna, seems to have been the youngest and favourite child of Queen Thyi. The architect Amenhetep was her steward. King Amenhetep had as a second wife Kirgipa, daughter of Satharna, king of Mesopotamia. The marriage is recorded on a scarab and on a tablet found at Tell el Amarna. This king sent presents to the king of Egypt, and offered him his daughter in marriage, and she became his wife, but there is little known concerning her.

Although no events of great importance seem to have taken place in this reign, the inscriptions all show that Amenhetep was a wise and good king, and that he and his queen Thyi were greatly beloved by the people.

NEFER-KHEPERU-RA, or AMÉNHETEP IV., later AKHENATEN[1] (1383–1365 B.C.).—It is not certain how long Amenhetep IV. was associated on the throne with his father, but his mother Thyi appears to have reigned with her son during the early days of his rule. He married Tadukhipa, daughter of Dushratta, king of the Mitani (Western Babylonia). The arrangements for this marriage were written on tablets in cuneiform characters, the correspondence between Dushratta her father and Amenhetep III. having been discovered at Tell el Amarna. It has been thought that after her marriage she changed her name to Nefretiti, or more fully Nefert-neferu-aten, "The Beauty of the Beauties of Aten," but monumental evidence seems to show that there were two queens. Nefretiti seems to have had through her mother some hereditary right to the throne of Egypt.

Amenhetep was very fond of his wife and children, of whom he had several, but all daughters, and wherever he went they seem to have accompanied him. In one of the carvings the queen is represented sitting on the king's knee with two of the children on her lap.

In the 6th year of his reign, Amenhetep IV. entirely threw off the old religion and worship of Amen and the Egyptian gods, and adopted that of his mother Thyi, worshipping the Aten, or the sun's disk, and changing his name to Akhenaten. After his conversion his zeal led him to destroy the statues of Amen and other gods at Thebes, which so enraged the priests that he was forced to leave that city and build a new one at Tell el Amarna, 100 miles farther north. The only deity of the

[1] Formerly written "Khuenaten."

old religion still revered by the king was Maat, the goddess of Truth, and his motto was "Living in Truth."

Of the new town of Tell el Amarna little now remains except the foundations, which extend for a great distance. The streets were wide, with houses on either side, the walls of which were covered with stucco and fresco decorations. One represents a school of dancing and music for girls, and others are painted with flowers and natural objects. The painted pavement, which is all that is left of the palace, is very fine, and differs greatly in style from old Egyptian art. Nature was copied far more closely: ducks, flowers, vines with grapes, birds and foliage were skilfully drawn on floors and ceilings. At the corner of one of the streets was a glass manufactory, showing all the stages of the manufacture, from a stand covered with congealed glass, that had evidently boiled over, to exquisitely finished beads, amulets, and pieces for inlaying or mosaic work.

On the opposite side of the town the manufactory of moulds for ornaments and objects in glass was situated, and many of these were of various shapes and designs, which fitted exactly the articles made. In the "sculptors' workshop" were studies by both master and pupils, as well as reduced copies from the death-mask of Akhenaten. Portraits of the queen incised on stone were discovered in the same workshop. Among the ruins of the Temple of the Sun the fragments of several beautiful statues of the king, queen, and princesses were unearthed; a portion of the queen's face is one of the most delicate and exquisite specimens of Egyptian art yet discovered. In one of the ruined houses, since identified as the royal library from the inscription on the bricks,[1] which reads, "The place of the records of the Pharaoh," the Arabs, about 1888, dug out a great number of tablets of sun-dried brick, covered with cuneiform inscriptions, but, owing to want of care in transporting them to Cairo, they were much injured, and valuable information thereby lost. Their importance, however, was such that Petrie went in 1891 to make further investigations on the site, with the result that a few fragments were brought to light. The contents of the inscriptions proved to be of the greatest interest, and include, besides the letters from Dushratta concerning his daughter's marriage already mentioned, correspondence between the kings and governors of Syria and other provinces—in short, a complete history of the relations between these countries at this epoch.

The tomb of Akhenaten lies in the mountains, about 7 miles

[1] A brick with the full inscription was found by Lord Amherst, and deciphered by Newberry, 1895.

to the east of Tell el Amarna. His red granite sarcophagus has been broken to pieces. One chamber of the tomb is covered with scenes of mourning for the king's second daughter, of whom he seems to have been passionately fond, and who must have died before her father.

The queen is supposed to have been buried with her husband; her name is inscribed with his on the stelæ. They are represented standing against the sun's disk with its rays falling round them, each holding a ray and the symbol of life in their hands.

The magnificent Hymn to the Aten inscribed on the walls of the tomb of Aŷ is supposed to have been composed by Akhenaten.[1] It begins—

"Thy appearing is beautiful in the horizon of heaven,
The living Aten the beginning of life;
Thou risest in the horizon of the East,
Thou fillest every land with thy beauty.

Thou art very beautiful, brilliant and exalted above earth,
Thy beams encompass all lands which thou hast made;
Thou art the Sun, thou settest their bounds,
Thou bindest them with thy love.

. . . . . .

Thou makest the seasons of the year to create all thy works,
The winter making them cool, the summer giving warmth;
Thou makest the far-off heavens, that thou mayest rise in it,
That thou mayest see all that thou madest when thou wast alone."[2]

To the sun's rays alone are attributed the power of giving life to the whole of creation. The author must have been a keen observer of Nature, and clothes his ideas in the most beautiful and poetical language; but the entire poem should be read in order to fully appreciate it. The influence of Semitic monotheism is distinctly traceable.

There are many private monuments of this reign, both at Thebes and at Tell el Amarna. In the hills which surround the plain on which the city was built, the tombs of the great officials of the period have been excavated. The influence of the king's efforts to reform the religion and improve the arts of his country are well illustrated by the pictures on their walls. The tomb of Aŷ is perhaps the most interesting. His wife Thŷ was nurse to the queen. On the walls are portraits of the queen and five princesses, and representations of public functions at which they

[1] Latin translation by Professor Breasted.
[2] Petrie, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii.; translation by Griffith.

were present, but unfortunately the tomb is unfinished. He began to build a second tomb at the same place.

ANKH-KHEPERU-RA, or SMENKH-KA-RA, ZESER-KHEPERU (1365–1353 B.C.).—This king was the husband of Akhenaten's eldest daughter Mertaten, and was co-regent with his father-in-law. A ring of his was found at Gurob, and wine jars discovered at Tell el Amarna bear dates supposed to be of his reign, but how long he lived there is uncertain. He continued the decoration of the princesses' tomb, and this is the only sculpture on which his name is found. He reigned about 12 years, and it is said that he was deposed in a revolution. That some great reaction must have occurred in this reign, is clearly evidenced by the fact that the remains of the beautiful monuments which existed in the city of Akhenaten were all found in fragments by Petrie and Carter in 1894, showing evidently that they had been wantonly destroyed.

TÛT-ANKH-AMEN HEQ-AN-RES, or KHEPERU-NEB-RA (1353–1344 B.C.).—The youngest daughter of Akhenaten, named Ankh-nes-pa-aten, was the wife of this king, who is best known as Tût-ankh-Amen. He was a follower of the old religion of Amen, and changed his wife's name to Ankh-nes-Amen. He must have lived for a short time at Tell el Amarna, as rings of his have been found there, but few monuments of his reign have been discovered.

His queen was the more important personage of the two, as Tût-ankh-Amen succeeded to the throne in right of his wife, and her name is as conspicuously placed as her husband's on the monuments. At Kurneh, in the tomb of Hûy, who was governor of the southern provinces, there are interesting representations of his bringing the tribute from Nubia and Syria to Tût-ankh-Amen. There is a picture of the king holding a sword, and a negro queen of Kush is represented seated in a chariot drawn by oxen bringing him gifts of "gold and silver, blue stone, green stone, and all kinds of jewels." She is accompanied by princes and attendants with black curly hair and gay dresses. There is also a painting of a Nubian landscape, where monkeys are seen climbing in the Dôm palms, and giraffes feeding on the branches. That the Nubians were entirely under the sway of Egypt is seen from the way they had adopted the dress and ornaments of that country, and shows that in spite of the religious revolution at home, Egypt's power abroad had not waned.

The queen Ankh-nes-pa-aten had no children, and therefore the line of Akhenaten ceased.

DIVINE FATHER AŶ, or RA-KHEPER-KHEPERU-AR-MAAT,

NETER-HEQ-UAS (1344–1332 B.C.).—Aŷ, who probably headed the revolt against Ankh-kheperu-Ra, appears to have been the same individual who was husband of the nurse to Queen Thŷi, and was fanbearer to King Akhenaten. His parentage is unknown, but it is presumed that either he or his wife Thŷ could claim royal descent, as they were allowed to ascend the throne. A stela at Tell el Amarna gives the portraits of Aŷ and Thŷ adoring Amen, and thus showing that they had entirely renounced the worship of Aten. After the destruction of Tell el Amarna, this king probably resided at Thebes, where he built a third tomb. It lies in the western valley, and contains a red granite sarcophagus, beautifully sculptured with figures of the ancient gods. There are several stelæ of this reign, and some small objects, the most valuable being a gold ring now in the Leyden Museum. No children are mentioned.

HOR-EM-HEB, RA-ZE-SER-KHEPERU (1332–1328 B.C.).—Hor-em-heb could not have been a young man when he ascended the throne, as it appears that he was General of the army in the time of Tût-ankh-Amen, and probably was elected king by the soldiery. Soon after his accession he married Nezem-mut, possibly a sister of Neferti-ti, in order to secure the succession. She was of the same age as himself, between 50 and 60. His coming was received with "cries of joy as he came from his golden chamber." His descent is unknown, but in an inscription on the double statue of himself and his wife, now at Turin, he is spoken of as highly favoured of the gods, especially of Horus, who calls him "Son," and recommends him to the people as being a wise law-giver, "chosen to regulate both lands." His code of justice, we learn from an inscription at Karnak, was very severe, especially against soldiers, whose propensities for plundering he knew well, from having served with the army. He appears to have added to and restored buildings at Dêr el Bahari and Luxor. At Karnak he finished the great pylons, and set up an avenue of 128 sphinxes leading to the temple of Mut.

The tomb of a Hor-em-heb at Sakkara is perhaps that of this king. Several portraits of him exist, the finest being in the Berlin Museum. Small objects, such as rings and scarabs, are also known. Of his queen Nezem-mut there are one scarab and one ring, and the figure of a frog from Abydos is engraved with her cartouche.

There is evidence of the burial of two bulls in the Apis Mausoleum at Sakkara during this reign. With Hor-em-heb closes the powerful XVIII Dynasty, perhaps the most interesting period of Egyptian history.

PART IV

XIX TO XXII DYNASTIES.

"See those great temples on some quiet even,
Watch the blue starlit sky above them span,
Think of that vast infinity of Heaven,
Feeling the insignificance of man."

S. A.: *Egypt.*

MEN-PEHTI-RA, or RAMESES I. (1319–1317 B.C.).—It is uncertain whether Rameses I. was related to the last king, but he is placed at the beginning of a new Dynasty. The representation of his coronation is on the entrance gate of the temple at Karnak. No very remarkable events occurred during his short reign. He quelled a revolt among the tribes conquered by Thothmes III. in Syria, and there fought a battle at Kadesh, on the Orontes, north-west of Canaan, and gained others along the southern road to Gozan, to the east of the Euphrates. The rebellious tribe was the Kheta (supposed to be the Hittites), a fair-haired race differing from the other peoples of Canaan. They had been a powerful enemy, and had given much trouble in former years. There are stelæ and monuments of the reign of Rameses I. at Wady Halfa and other places. His tomb is in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes, and his body was found at Dêr el Bahari among those of the other kings discovered by Maspero, 1881.

MAAT-MEN-RA, or SETI I. (1316–1289 B.C.).—Seti I., son and successor of Rameses I., began his reign by suppressing the rebellion of the nomadic tribe of the Shasu, which had come from the Arabian Desert into the Delta. He then marched from Zaru, in the Tanitic nome, into Canaan, where he took several towns and erected forts, passing by way of the Philistines to a strongly-fortified place called Taa-pa-mau, Leontopolis, or "The Place of Lions," where there was a spring of fresh water "very precious." From thence he went to Baal Zapana (Baal Zephon) and to Kadesh (Barnea), and on to Rabbath Ammon, conquering the whole of the Negeb, or Southern Syria, and the country of the Amorites. He next undertook an expedition against the Fenkhu, identified by some with the Phœnicians, and the "Sati" people, "of the great circle of the green ocean" (the Mediterranean). His triumphant return is depicted on the north-eastern wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, where he is shown driving his favourite horse, named "Amen give the Sword," with the heads of the slain attached to his chariot, and

the inscription, "This is the going up of Pharaoh to conquer the land of Kadesh in the territory of the Amorites." The priests and nobles are shown presenting him with wreaths and addresses of congratulation on his safe return. On this wall is also a picture of a canal, proving that a passage existed through the land of Goshen connecting the Nile and the Red Sea. It is called Ta-tenat, or "The Cutting," and is evidently of fresh water, as crocodiles are represented swimming in it.

It was during this victorious expedition that King Seti returned by the mountains of the Lebanon, and made his prisoners cut down tall trees for the masts of his ships, more especially for the sacred bark built for the worship of Amen, mentioned on the walls of Thebes. In later years the king was obliged to protect his frontier against the Libyans, who were formidable opponents, and constantly making raids into Egypt. They are called by the Egyptians Tehenu, "The Light People," and by the Greeks Marmaridæ, or people of Marmarica on the north coast of Africa.

In Seti's reign the mines of Sinai were worked, as were also the gold mines of the Red Sea. Of one of these a curious map on papyrus exists in the Turin Museum, and is the oldest map in the world. This was recognised by Chabas to represent the mines of the Wady Alaki. The inscriptions found by Theodore Bent in 1896 in the Wady Gabait seem to answer to the description of these early workings, as the few letters they were able to read correspond with the fragments in the Seti map, and the process described by Diodorus of burning and crushing the quartz in the mines of Kush were plainly visible in those of Wady Gabait and Wady Alaki.[1] Seti restored buildings at Amâdeh, Gebel Silsileh, and other places. At Abydos he built largely, commencing the beautiful temple dedicated to Osiris, now called the "Sanctuary of the Memnonium," from the Greek form of the word "mennu," meaning monument—a name given by the Egyptians to any important dedicatory building or statue. Here are some of the very finest bas-reliefs, and a great sculptured wall, on the surface of which are seen 76 cartouches, containing a list of kings[2] from Mena to his own time, through whom he traced his descent.

But Seti's greatest work is the magnificent "Hall of Columns," the great Hypostyle Hall of the temple of Amen at Karnak. It consists of 16 rows of gigantic shafts, the two central rows being the tallest, reaching to a height of about 70 feet. The whole hall is beautifully sculptured and painted,

[1] A Company has now been formed to re-work these mines.

[2] See page 411.

both inside and on the exterior, with cartouches of the kings, historical scenes, and effigies of the gods, especially those of Amen, Mut, and Khensu, the Theban Triad.

The tomb of Seti is one of the most beautiful that has been found, and is situated in the Biban el Mulûk; it was discovered by Belzoni in 1816. The colours of some of the paintings are almost as vivid as when first executed, 3000 years ago. The wife of Seti was named Tui, and by some is said to have been a descendant of Akhenaten. The mummy of the king was found amongst those discovered in the Dêr el Bahari pit in 1881, and is now in the Cairo Museum. The figure is that of a tall, strong, handsome man, and the expression of the face calm and majestic. His elaborate sarcophagus, of the finest alabaster, is in Sir John Soane's Museum in London, and is covered with clear and well-cut hieroglyphs.

The architecture of this period is most grand, and the details in design and finish are very perfect.

USER-MAAT-RA, SETEP-EN-RA, or RAMESES II. (1288–1221 B.C.).—When Rameses was quite a child, his father Seti wished to see "the glory of him as king," and placed him on his knee before all the people. They did homage to him, and put the crown of Egypt on his head, adorning him with a golden fillet. He was present at all public ceremonies and festivals. When only ten years old, he accompanied his father on an expedition against the Libyans. His first act after his accession was to have a statue of Seti placed at Memphis and another at Thebes, and to repair his "father's favourite house," the Memnonium at Abydos, which had fallen into decay, placing there also an image of gold to his memory. His love and reverence for his father were celebrated in a beautiful poem by the contemporary poet Pentaur, and are set forth in a long inscription on the walls of the temple of Abydos, in words such as these: "The most beautiful thing to behold, the best thing to hear, is a child with a thankful heart that beats for its father," "Let me do what he did, let me be excellent as he was," etc. The same poem tells of the love of Rameses for his country, how he encouraged agriculture, commerce, and the arts, and built ships for the conveyance of merchandise. He made a valuation of the land in acres, and imported cattle and "living geese" to keep up the breed of birds, and he preserved the fish in the river and lakes, and did all he could to improve the land and increase its prosperity. His religious faith was very simple and pure; he believed that Horus, or Ra, the Sun god, gave him power to live and work and fight, and that he could overcome "Set," or evil, by his aid. The first of his many and brilliant campaigns

was directed against Syria, in the land of the Amorites, and he comemorated his victories there by a stela on the banks of the Nahr el Kelb, or "Dog River," north of Beyrout. His second campaign, in the 5th year of his reign, was against the Kheta, who caused him so much trouble, that although he had the assistance of many neighbouring tribes, it was not till 16 years later that peace was concluded. The principal battle was fought at Kadesh, on the Orontes, and sculptures and paintings representing it are seen on the walls of Karnak, Luxor, Abydos, Abu Simbel, and Bêt el Walli, in Nubia. The besiegers are shown on the walls throwing down the bodies of the conquered into the river below. Rameses is likewise depicted in his chariot with his two horses, "Victory in Thebes" and "Mut is Satisfied," carrying a large sword, and with a bow shooting down his enemies. The personal bravery of the king appears to have saved the battle, as, when his soldiers were hard pressed and about to turn, he, single-handed, rushed upon the enemy and killed all before him. In their haste they cried out, "This is no man, Baal is in all his limbs. Let us hasten and flee before him." And Rameses called out, "Halt, stand, take courage, my warriors, my charioteers, look upon my victory. Amen is with us, he is my helper." These accounts are also taken from Pentaur's celebrated epic poem. This great battle ended the war with the Kheti, and a treaty of peace was drawn up on a silver tablet, and signed by both kings on the 13th of the month Tybi, in the 34th year of the reign of Rameses. One sentence runs as follows: "He shall be my ally, he shall be my friend. I will be his ally, I will be his friend for ever." On the same tablet is the offer from the king of the Kheti, Kheti-saru, of his daughter in marriage to Rameses, saying how "the royal daughter comes to soften the heart of the king with her beauty," and a picture of the marriage is to be seen at Abu Simbel, where the bride is being given away by the prince of the Kheti, followed by a numerous suite dressed in the gay clothing of Northern Syria. On her marriage, the princess adopted the name of Ur-maat-neferu-ra. The boundary line between Egypt and the country of the Kheti was now established, and Rameses fortified the frontier cities, making his principal residence at Tanis. This city was a convenient starting-point for the campaigns entered upon by him and his allies against other hostile Syrian tribes.

There is a long inscription at Kubân, opposite Dakkeh, in Nubia, describing the terrible want of water in that part of the desert where the gold mines were situated, and how the people and their asses died of thirst; "unless it happened that the rain fell from Heaven, so no gold could be obtained because of the

want of water." "Behold, the king who was at Memphis summoned the people who were skilful in boring, that they should work and form a well to furnish water to those who travelled on the road to Akita." This was done, "the water streamed out, brooks were formed; he made tanks and lagunes; the fishermen of Natho enjoyed themselves as they built small boats." The water was 12 cubits deep, and it was called the Tank of Amen-merŷ-Ramesu, "Victorious."

The finest work of Rameses was the Ramesseum, at Thebes, where there is a colossal statue of himself in pink gneiss,[1] "exceedingly fine stone," according to Diodorus, and which, though much broken, is a splendid specimen. Another great statue in limestone is to be seen at Memphis, which formerly stood in the temple of Ptah. The temple of Amenhetep III. at Luxor was enlarged and beautified by Rameses II. He added a colonnaded court and a great pylon, sculptured with scenes from his wars with the Hittites. In front of the temple he placed six colossal statues of himself and two obelisks; one still remains, and the other was removed by the French, and is now in the Place de la Concorde in Paris.

The most interesting of the temples built by Rameses is that at Abu Simbel, carved out of the solid sandstone mountain—the Du-ab, or "Pure Mountain." It was dedicated to the great gods of Egypt, and designed for a memorial of his own reign and of his conquests in Nubia. At the entrance are four colossal statues of the king; his wife Nefretari and his children are represented by small statues placed at his feet. The chambers of the temple run deep into the mountain, and the figures which support the roof of the first hall are 60 feet in height. The temple stands on the western bank of the Nile; the first view of it is most imposing, and it becomes still more so on closer inspection. The first person who discovered this temple in modern times was Belzoni in 1817, and the first to enter it was Mr. Beechey (son of Sir William Beechey, R.A.), who groped his way in through the dangerously shifting sand, and made several careful drawings.

A short distance northward another temple was hewn out of the mountain face. The six statues on the façade represent Rameses and his wife Nefretari, with two of their sons. This temple was dedicated to Hathor, and though much dwarfed by its colossal neighbour, is still a fine specimen of the work of the period. There are endless other monuments in Egypt bearing the cartouches of Rameses II., but this is not always a proof that the buildings were erected by him, as he often erased the exist-

[1] Sir William Dawson.

ing names and substituted his own. Rameses II. is supposed to be the Pharaoh that oppressed the Israelites, and his city of Tanis, or Zoan, was so near the land of Goshen that he might easily have enforced their labour to build his new city of Per-Ramesu, or Pithom,[1] and his architect Amen-en-ant is thought to have been the one who treated them so cruelly. There is a letter from a certain Panbessa in the Anastasi Papyrus, No. 3, describing this wonderful city: "I proceeded to Pa-Ramesu Meramen. I found it flourishing in all good things . . . the abode of felicity; its meadows are filled with all good things, its pools are filled with fish, its ponds with fowl, its fields are verdant with grass. . . . Gladness dwells within it, none speaks scorn of it. The virgins of Aa-nechtu are well apparelled every day; sweet oil is on their heads, with new curls they stand at their doors, their hands adorned with nosegays, the bouquets of Pa Hathor, garlands of the Lake Pahura, on the day of the arrival of Ra-user-ma Setep-en-ra, the head god of the world."[2]

It was near the town of Zoan that the daughter of Pharaoh was supposed to have found the infant Moses, and a Jewish tradition mentions that Princess Meris, a daughter of the Kheta princess Ur-maat-neferu-ra, who married Rameses II., found Moses when she went to bathe. The tomb of Rameses is in the Biban el Mulûk, and his mummy was found at Dêr el Bahari in 1881, and removed to the Cairo Museum. He had many children, and among his elder sons Kha-em-uas seems to have been his favourite. He was high priest of Ptah; he died during his father's lifetime, and his mummy was found in the Serapæum, near Sakkara. His name occurs on monuments at Bigeh, El Kab, and other places.

A fine statue of Rameses was unearthed at Abukîr whilst excavating some Roman baths there, as well as a statue of his wife Hent-ma-ra. Rameses has been well styled the "Great." He was known to the Greeks as Sesostris, but the extent of the conquests attributed to him by them has been much exaggerated. The most beautiful of his portraits is at Turin; the face is full of vigour and refinement, and even in his mummy these characteristics can still be discerned.

MER-EN-PTAH, HETEP-HER-MAA (1220–1212 B.C.).—The first mention of this king is in an inscription on a statue of Bak-en-Khensu at Munich, who describes himself as "the superintendent of the office of the sustenance of King Mer-en-Ptah," and "architect" of the Theban palace. Mer-en-Ptah was the 13th son of Rameses II., but there are few remains of his reign.

[1] Now called Tell el Maskhuta, excavated by M. Naville, 1883.

[2] *Records of the Past*, vi. p. 13.

The country was at first peaceful and prosperous, but in the 5th year of Mer-en-Ptah's reign the Libyans invaded Egypt under "the miserable king of Libu, Maruyuŕ, son of Dïd," who was joined by several of the various peoples dwelling on the Mediterranean coasts and islands. They penetrated as far as Byblos unopposed, until the king was roused to action by a dream. The god Ptah appeared to him as a giant, and, handing him the sword of battle, said, "Cast off the lazy disposition that is in thee." The king did so, attacked the enemy, and "the king of Libu fled in a hideous state of fear, leaving his sandals and his bow and arrows." The army returned triumphant, and laid their spoils under the windows of the palace, "that His Majesty might behold them." This victory is described on the walls of Karnak. He appears to have been friendly with the Syrians, and allowed the Shasû to feed "their cattle in the lands of the Pharaoh." He restored some temples, and there is one monument at Karnak on which he directs that the town of Heliopolis, or On, should be fortified; and another very large stela, which was found in the ruins of a small temple between Medinet Habu and the Ramesseum, and which contains the list of towns and tribes subject to him; amongst these is the name of "Iśrael," which seems to be that of a tribe subdued by him on the coast of Syria. It is supposed that this was the Pharaoh who pursued the Israelites in their flight from Egypt, and whose hosts were overthrown in the Red Sea.

His tomb is in the Biban el Mulûk, but it was not till 1898–99 that his mummy was discovered by Loret in a side chamber of the tomb of Amenhetep II. His name was distinctly read on the mummy wrappings, and his body conveyed to Cairo. His wife's name was Ast-nefret. It is said by some historians that a Sothic period of 1460 years terminated during this reign in 1325 B.C.

User-kheperu-Ra, Seti II. (1211–1180 B.C.).—This king had an uneventful reign, and we do not hear of his having undertaken any campaigns. He restored the colossi on one side of the doorway of Abu Simbel, his name appears on the Colonnade at Luxor, and he placed small statuettes between the legs of the sphinxes that adorn the road to the river at Karnak, where there is also a small temple built of grey sandstone. The sculptures show that it was dedicated to the Theban Triad, Amen, Mut, and Khensu; and in the western chamber there is a representation of the sacred heart of the goddess Mut, to whom Seti and his son are offering libations. His tomb has been found in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, but is in no way remarkable. It is of dazzling white stone, and is unfinished;

sketches of the decorations intended are still visible on several portions. The lid only of his sarcophagus was found. His mummy was discovered, like that of Merenptah, in the tomb of Amenhetep II. at Thebes. Seti II. reigned only two years; by some he is said to have been the Pharaoh of the Exodus.

SIPTAH, or MERENPTAH II.—After the death of Seti II. the country was disturbed by internal troubles, caused by different aspirants to the throne. Among these the principal one was Siptah, whose second name was Merenptah. His wife Ta-usert was of royal rank, probably a daughter of Seti II., so that through her he may have claimed his right to the succession.

His reign was short, and from inscriptions it is known that his authority reached to the southern parts of his kingdom,[1] and that relations and intercourse with Syria were still maintained.

The name of AMEN-MESES is also known, and he evidently reigned for a very short period. His tomb, as well as that of Siptah, are in the Biban el Mulûk.

XX DYNASTY.

USER-KHA-RA, SET-NEKHT (1180 B.C.).—After a time of much turmoil and confusion, Set-nekht, the founder of the XX Dynasty, succeeded in establishing his power. There is an account in the Harris Papyrus of his having driven back the Syrians who invaded his country, and compelled them to pay him tribute.

He was an old man when he began to reign, and his son Rameses was co-regent with him. He was borne to his grave across the river in the royal boat, and laid in his mortuary house on the west side of Thebes. The hieroglyphs and sculptures of his tomb are very elaborate and fine. They refer principally to Queen Ta-usert. Set-nekht had evidently appropriated the beautiful tomb of Siptah for himself, and erased the former names.

USER-MAAT-RA MERY AMEN, or RAMESES III. (1180–1148 B.C.).—The Harris Papyrus contains a very beautiful account of the crowning of Rameses III., the son and successor of Set-nekht:—

"My father Amen, lord of the gods, and Ra and Ptah with the beautiful face, caused me to be crowned as lord of the lands on the throne of my father. I received the dignities amid shouts of joy: the people delighted because of the peace. I was crowned with the Atef crown with the Ureus serpents and the

[1] Inscription at Wady Halfa, Sayce.

double plume. Thus I reposed on the throne-seat of Hor-em-akhuti; thus was I crowned with the robes of state like Tum."

The first five years of the reign of Rameses III. were spent in restoring order in his turbulent country, and as soon as this was accomplished he had to repel an invasion of the Libyans, whom he drove out of the kingdom. Three years later, a very formidable invasion of the Egyptian possessions in Syria and Palestine was made by the "People of the Great Sea," who seem to have been pirates from Northern Africa and the coasts of Asia Minor and Greece. Rameses went against them with a powerful fleet and a large army, and defeated them on the coast of Syria, bringing back many prisoners and much spoil. He built a wall of defence near Suez to protect Egypt from the inroads of the Shasû and other hostile tribes. He was obliged to march a second time against the Libyans under Prince Kapûr, and repulsed them with great loss. Rameses III., unlike his predecessors, though constantly engaged in wars, made no new conquests, but only defended the territories already his. He re-opened trade with the East, and worked the malachite and copper mines of Sinai. He was fond of building, and erected temples, chiefly dedicated to Amen, in many towns. His most important work is at Medinet Habu. The plan of this temple, or palace, differs from all the rest, and there is a beautiful oriel window above the porch.[1] There are a series of chambers, now known as the Treasury of Rameses, the walls of which are covered with pictures of him propitiating the gods with costly gifts. Herodotus relates an amusing story that may have referred to this king. He tells how the "King Rhampsinitus, being a great miser," had a secret chamber constructed to contain his hoards, but the mason placed one of the stones so that it could be easily moved, and when dying told the secret to his two sons. They, on several occasions, crept in at night and stole some of the treasure. The king discovered his loss, but could not trace the thief, as the doors were fast locked and the seals unbroken. He therefore set a trap inside the chamber, and caught the foremost thief, who was so afraid of falling into the king's hands that he entreated his brother to cut off his head and take it away with him. He did so, and Rameses was terrified to find next day a headless body in a room securely locked. The mother of the murdered man was in frantic grief, and insisted that her son should go back and fetch the remains. So he loaded his ass with skins of wine, which he gave to the guards, and made them drunk. He then crept in again, and brought out his brother's body. The king

[1] See page 50, "Ancient People."

W.A.C

Colossal Head of Ast-ama-thrut. Wife of Rameses III. at Medinet Habu

was still more terrified when the corpse mysteriously vanished, and issued a proclamation that he would pardon the thief if he would reveal himself and relate how the deed was done. The man did so, and the king was so struck by his craft and cleverness that he gave him his daughter to wife.

Rameses endowed the temples with rich gifts, especially that of Amen-ra at Thebes, where gold, silver, and precious stones were stored in quantities. Serious troubles arose within the kingdom, and a very treasonable conspiracy was hatched by some of the royal family, with the object of deposing the king and setting up his son in his place. The ladies of the harîm were the chief movers in it, and induced the general commanding the troops to join them, as well as other great personages. Every means were used to spread the conspiracy, and even magic arts were resorted to. The "Superintendent of the Cows," who was a very high official, had a number of small wax figures introduced into the palace, which were supposed to cause illness and other evils. Some one, however, betrayed the secret, and the conspirators were seized and tried by a commission appointed by the king, who gave the members full power to execute justice, but desired them to be careful only to condemn the guilty. He also commanded that the names of the criminals and the punishments awarded them should never be made known to him. A long account of this conspiracy is given in the Turin judicial papyrus, edited by Deveria.[1]

The temples and the worship of the gods were kept up with great magnificence, and the power of the priesthood increased enormously. The wealth they amassed in gold, silver, and precious stones was before long employed in overthrowing the Dynasty and assuming kingly power.

The tomb of Rameses III. is one of the most interesting in the Valley of the Kings. It is called "Bruce's Tomb," after its discoverer, or "The Harper's Tomb," because of a picture in one of the chambers representing men playing on the harp. Scenes of household life, such as baking, cooking, preparing joints, kneading dough, as well as birds, fruits and flowers, boats, bows and quivers, and even furniture, tables, chairs, and sofas, are most faithfully depicted on the walls.

This king reigned 32 years. His wife's name was changed to Isis; she must have been a foreigner, as her previous name was Ast-amathrut.[2] He had ten sons, who are mentioned on the monuments. The eldest commanded the infantry during

[1] Another account is given in the Lee Papyrus, now in the Amherst Collection. Newberry, *Amherst Papyri*.

[2] Lepsius, *Königsbuch*.

his father's life, and succeeded to the throne as Rameses IV. The other brothers reigned after him.

There was no sarcophagus in the tomb of Rameses III.; the coffin was found empty amongst the royal mummies in the Dêr el Bahari, and his body, known by its wrappings, was discovered in the coffin of Queen Nefret-ari. It was taken to Cairo, and is placed with the other great Pharaohs in the National Museum.

HEQ-MAAT-RA, or RAMESES IV. (1148–1137 B.C.).—Rameses IV. was of a peaceable disposition, and the country was not disturbed by wars during his reign; he visited many of his cities, and put up inscriptions on the columns in the Great Hall of Karnak, likewise on a small building near it, and on the forecourt of the Ramesseum. His ideas for buildings were magnificent, and he employed several architects to assist him. The chief event of importance during the reign of Rameses IV. was his expedition to the quarries of Bekhen, or Hammamat, to procure materials for the temples he meant to build. The great inscription left by him in the valley of Hammamat records that 8368 persons were employed to excavate and remove the huge blocks of serpentine, porphyry, and granite required. To feed this great multitude, a regular commissariat system was established, which was a very arduous undertaking, as not only the food but all the water had to be carried, and many animals died. On the return of the expedition, a great feast was made, and the oxen that had survived were sacrificed. An order was given that this feast should be celebrated yearly in commemoration of the event. The same inscription tells of his respect for his ancestors and his love for his country.

The tomb of Rameses IV. in the Biban el Mulûk is small, but contains a large sarcophagus in granite, 11 feet 6 inches by 7 feet, and upwards of 9 feet in height. This tomb had been opened in the time of the Ptolemies. Some of the inscriptions in it are curious: "O ye gods of the Deep and of the Tomb Amenthis, guard the door . . ." etc.; "Thus the great God traverses the path of the deep"; and in another place the same words are repeated beside a picture of the boat of Khnem, with the words, "May thy going out and coming in be blessed." There are many other allusions to "traversing the deep."

Rameses reigned 11 years, and the particulars of his death are not yet known, but his mummy was found in a small chamber in the tomb of Amenhetep II.

USER-MAAT-RA, SEKHEPER-EN-RA, RAMESES V. (1136–1132 B.C.).—In the later years of the last reign internal troubles

must have arisen, as Rameses V., although bearing the same name as the preceding Pharaoh, was an usurper. He was too weak to retain his position long, and reigned only 4 years, when he was deposed by the rightful heir. His mummy was found in the same tomb as his predecessor.

A stela with his name appears at Gebel Silsileh, and is one of the few records of him at present known.

RAMESES VI., RAMESES VII., RAMESES VIII. (1131 B.C.).—These were the sons of Rameses III., and brothers of Rameses IV. Very little appears to be known of them, and it is surmised that they reigned at the same time in different parts of Egypt. The tomb of Rameses VI. is very beautiful, and has a most interesting representation of the stars and astronomical tables. His inscriptions are found at Karnak, on the north side of the pylon and on the west of the connecting wall, also on a large rock in the desert to the east of El Kab.

Rameses VI. made a calculation of the world, and fixed many boundaries. He had also a knowledge of agriculture, and mentions the different kinds of soil and the crops most suitable for each. We find no record of his having added to the temples. His mummy was found beside that of Rameses IV. at Dêr el Bahari.

Of Rameses VII. nothing is known, except that his tomb is amongst those in the Valley of the Kings; nor is anything known of Rameses VIII., except that his mummy was found in the same place as those of Rameses IV. and VI.

NEFER-KA-RA, RAMESES IX.—Weakness and corruption characterised the reign of this king. Circumstantial particulars are given in the Abbott, Amherst, and the Mayer Papyri of the great robbery of the Necropolis of Thebes, which took place in the 16th year of the reign of Rameses IX. A judicial inquiry was ordered, and Paser, the governor of the town, and Paser-aa, his subordinate, being at enmity, each denounced the other to the chiefs in council. Much complication thereupon ensued; but a commission was appointed to make investigations on the spot, and the police were ordered to assist in the search. Eight men were suspected, and were "examined," that is, "cruelly beaten on the hands and feet"; under the punishment, they confessed to having broken into the tomb of King Sebekemsaf, and finding the bodies of the king and queen.[1] The thieves were not only forced to confess, but to identify the scene of their pillage. The report was forwarded to the Pharaoh, who alone could decide on their punishment, and pending his orders they were imprisoned, but the papyri are silent as to their ultimate

[1] See page 121.

fate. These robberies did not end here, as early in the following reign similar ones are chronicled.

Labourers at this time seem still to have been paid, not in money, but in rations of fish, pulse, grain, beer, and fuel, but so irregularly that strikes were frequent. It does not appear that the State withheld the rations, but rather that the overseers were so corrupt that they intercepted them. The men rose in revolt, until, their complaints being heard and their wrongs righted, they once more returned to work. The tomb of Rameses IX., among the tombs of the kings, differs in its sculpture and paintings from the former ones. In the second chamber the king is said to enter "the Great House in the City of a Thousand Gates," a name which must have given rise to the classical allusions to "hundred-gated Thebes."

RAMESES X.—Nothing is known as yet of the reign of this king, except the robberies of tombs before referred to, and in which a host of people of all trades seem to have been concerned. It became very difficult to guard against such depredations, as the Necropolis had grown to a very great size, and the police were not too vigilant. Rameses X. ruled 8 years. His tomb is an unimportant one.

Of RAMESES XI. nothing is known.

USER-MAAT-RA, SETEP NU RA, RAMESES XII.—Hitherto this Rameses was supposed to be a distinct king, but he has been proved by Erman to be only a popular double of Rameses II.

There is a curious but improbable story ascribed to this reign which was found written on a stone in the temple of Khensu at Thebes, and is now in the "Bibliothèque Nationale" in Paris, and evidently applies to the Great Rameses. One of the kings with whom the Pharaoh of Egypt had made peace, sent his beautiful daughter, Neferu-ra, to be queen of Egypt. Soon after her marriage, messengers came from her country (Bektan) to tell her of the serious illness of her youngest sister Bentresh. The messengers brought splendid presents with them for the king of Egypt, and prayed him to send one of the skilled physicians for whom Egypt was famed, to cure the princess. One was chosen and sent, but failed to cure her. The messengers returned, and this time entreated that the statue of Khensu, "The Driver away of Evil," might be sent. "So Rameses consented to let the god go, and it took a year and five months to reach the city where the princess dwelt. As soon as Khensu arrived, the invalid became perfectly well." Great feasts and rejoicings were made, and the people honoured the god who had performed such a miracle in their

land. After a time, "they ordered his carriage and sent him back laden with gifts and all good things to the great king, Pharaoh Rameses."

MEN-MAAT-RA, SETEP-EN-PTAH, RAMESES XIII.—There are a few records of the king's name on monuments, and a letter written on papyrus by himself is preserved in the Turin Museum. It refers to an expedition to the land of the South, and contains an order to the son of the king of Kush, that Jani the king's counsellor should be sent to take charge of a statue and gifts of precious stones from the king. He ends the letter thus:—

"Let no delay occur, lest I degrade thee. Behold, I expect thy best attention to this message."

The power of the priests had gradually become more and more formidable, and culminated at this period in the dethronement of Rameses XIII., and his expulsion with his family to the Great Oasis of Amen.

So terminated the XX Dynasty, about 950 B.C.

XXI DYNASTY.

THE PRIEST-KINGS OF THEBES AND THE TANITE KINGS.

Manetho gives the names of seven kings of the XXI Dynasty, which he states was of Tanite origin. Contemporary with these rulers of the Delta there resided at Thebes several high priests of Amen who assumed the style and title of king. These latter kings seem to have been virtually independent sovereigns of Upper Egypt, but nominally the Tanite monarchs were their suzerains.[1]

TANITE.	THEBAN.
Smendes.	Heri-hor.
Pa-seb-khanu I.	Piankhŷ.
	Pai-nezem I.
	Ma-sa-herth.
Amen-em-apet.	Men-kheper-Ra.
	Pai-nezem II.
Sa-amen.	Nesi-ba-neb-dedu.
Pa-seb-khanu II.	

While the Theban priests reigned almost as independent sovereigns, the real successors of the Pharaohs carried on a somewhat feeble rule at Tanis. The first of the Tanite kings of the XXI Dynasty was SA-MENTHU. PA-SEB-KHANU I. followed, of whom little is known. AMEN-EM-APT, his successor, is probably the Amenophis of Manetho's list. SA-AMEN and PA-SEB-

[1] Maspero has discussed this subject in his *Struggle of the Nations*, page 762.

KHANU II. came next. A daughter of this king became the wife of Usarken I., son of Shashanq I., and it is generally believed that he was the Pharaoh referred to in the Book of Kings[1] as having given one of his daughters in marriage to King Solomon, and with her the city of Gaza as dowry. An important trade in horses and waggons between Egypt and Syria was carried on at this time. The rule of the Dynasty at Tanis had gradually grown weaker, and at the death of Pa-seb-khanu the kingdom easily passed into the hands of an usurper.

SA-AMEN, HERI-HOR (1050–1033 B.C.).—Heri-hor had held high offices of State under Rameses XIII. He came from Thebes, was high priest of Amen-ra, General of the army, had been tutor to Rameses X., and had virtually ruled during the former weak reign. Besides the great gifts of treasure which the kings had presented to the gods, they had made large grants of land to the priests "for the use of the gods," including "orchards, vineyards, gardens, and fields," so that at last the priests became too powerful for the kings. Heri-Hor made his son Piankhŷ high priest, and placed the double crown on his own head. He assumed command of the army, and called himself conqueror of the Retenu, but there is no proof of this conquest. Heri-hor did not work any beneficial changes in the government of the country, which remained as corrupt as before, but after a while he recalled many of the Egyptians who had been banished to the Oasis of Amen. He seems to have had respect for the tombs of former kings, and was distressed at the spoliation which continually went on. He therefore removed the mummies of King Se-qen-en-Ra, Aahmes I., Amenhetep I., Thothmes III., Seti I., and Rameses II. from place to place, at last hiding them in a shaft at Dêr el Bahari, where they were discovered by Maspero, along with others of the early kings, queens, and princesses. The mummy of Heri-hor's mother, Queen Nezemet, was found, but his own mummy has not yet been brought to light. He is now thought to have succeeded in right of his wife, as he married a daughter of Rameses VI.

PAI-NEZEM I. (1033–1008 B.C.).—Pai-nezem was the grandson of Heri-hor, and son of Piankhŷ, high priest of Amen-Ra. As his father died before Heri-hor, the succession devolved on Pai-nezem. He had two wives—Queen Hathor-hent-taui (whose name is inscribed on four canopic vases in the possession of General Sir E. Stanton) and Queen Maa-ka-ra; an inscription of the latter states that Amen-Ra had given her the kingdom, and that Pai-nezem married her to ensure his succession. His mummy and those of both his queens were found at Dêr el

[1] 1 Kings iii. 1.

Bahari, and at the feet of Maa-ka-ra was that of a very small baby, entitled "The Princess, Wife of the Pharaoh, Lady of Both Lands." This child, Mut-em-hat, was the rightful heir, and before her death her rights had been secured to her father by giving her the title of "Royal Wife."

The inscription of Pai-nezem is found among the Builders' names at Thebes, and a stela of the 25th year of his reign, at Luxor, proves that the Great Oasis was still used as a place of banishment. At Dêr el Bahari a large leather funeral tent was discovered, in beautiful appliqué work, in green, red, yellow, and white, for "Ast-em-Kheb," the daughter of Pai-nezem.

MEN-KHEPER-RA was son of Pai-nezem I. He was sent to rule in Thebes as high priest of Amen, and a decree was written in the temple and set up on a "memorial stone in thy city," "that no inhabitant of this land shall be banished to the far distance of the Oasis." Men-kheper-ra ruled at Thebes, and his brother at Bubastis and Tanis. Men-kheper-ra was succeeded by his son PAI-NEZEM II., whose wife was called Nessu Khensu. Many Shabti figures of an exquisite blue colour were found at Thebes inscribed with her name. With PAI-NEZEM II., the Dynasty of Theban priest-kings came to an end.

XXII DYNASTY (945–750 B.C.).

SHASHANQ I. (SHISHAK).—The family of Shashanq was of Libyan origin, and descended from the chiefs of the Mashauasha tribe,[1] as is distinctly stated on a stela in the Serapeum. The Semitic character of the names borne by its members has led some to suppose that it was of Babylonian descent. Shashanq's father was called Narmath, by some thought to be the same name as Nimrod,[2] and his mother was called Thentsepeh. His statue is at Florence. Shashanq was commander-in-chief of the army during the last reign, and in fact was chief ruler of the kingdom, and on the death of Pa-seb-khanu II. placed himself upon the throne. He compelled Ka-ra-ma, perhaps a daughter of the late king, to marry his eldest son, so as to make the succession secure.

He was firm in maintaining order, and put an end to the depredations made on the tombs, which had so long disgraced the country. It was to the court of Shashanq that Jeroboam fled until the death of Solomon. Shashanq's conquests in Palestine are recorded on the south wall of the second pylon in the temple of Amen at Karnak, where he is depicted in relief and of colossal size, wearing the double crown, with his

[1] *Records of the Past*, xii. p. 93.

[2] See page 121.

foes entreating mercy at his feet. Five rows of names of towns taken by him are given on shields, each carried by a captive, whose faces show the well-known characteristics of the Semitic race, thus proving him to be the king of Egypt, Shishak, who in the days of Rehoboam "came up against Jerusalem"[1] This siege occurred in the 5th year of his reign. The city was plundered, and the treasures of the temple were carried off.

In a quarry at Silsileh there is an inscription of Shashanq, in which the king orders his architect Hor-em-sat to quarry the stone there to build the very gateway where these scenes are depicted. Shashanq began to build the "Hall of the Bubastides" at Karnak which his successors finished. In order to keep the priestly power in his own hands, he made his son Uput high priest of Amen-Ra, but he predeceased his father.

Shashanq died after reigning 21 years. He moved his capital from Tanis to Per-bast (Bubastis), his birthplace. Per-bast is the Pi-beseth of the Bible. Here Shashanq began the great temple to the goddess Bast, which has been minutely described by Herodotus.[2]

USARKEN I., or OSARCON, 923 B.C. (Sargon of the Bible).[3]—Usarken continued the work at Karnak begun by his father Shashanq, but as yet little further is known of his history. He married Tashed-Khensu, who was the mother of his son and successor Takelet I., and also, as has been stated, Ka-ra-ma, the daughter of Pa-seb-khanu II., whose son Shashanq became high priest of Amen and commander of the army. It has been said this Shashanq disputed the succession with his half-brother Takelet, on the grounds of his mother being of royal descent, but was unsuccessful.

TAKELET I. (Tiglath-pilesar of the Bible).[4]—The name appears with that of his predecessor at Karnak. His queen was Shep-ses, mother of Usarken II.

USARKEN II.—SHASHANQ II.—Usarken II. had two wives; the first, Ka-ra-ma-ma, was the mother of Shashanq II., who was made high priest of Memphis. The second was Hez-ankhes, and was mother of Narmath, who was appointed commander of the army of Henen-seten (Herakleopolis), and held other posts.

An Apis Bull died in the 23rd year of the reign of Usarken II., and was buried with great state. In his time a great flood is said to have occurred at Thebes; he continued to build both there and at Bubastis, and he reigned 33 years. With him the elder line of kings died out, and the younger branch of the

[1] 1 Kings xi. 40, xiv. 25.
[2] Naville, *Bubastis*, 1887–89.
[3] Isaiah xx. 1.
[4] 2 Kings xvi. 7.

Bubastides succeeded in 833 B.C., but of Shashanq II., grandson of Shashanq I., no history is recorded.

TAKELET II.—An inscription of the 12th year of the reign of this king is found at Karnak, near his father's name. It tells of an eclipse of the moon having occurred in the time of the last king, which seems to have been regarded as a portent of evil. Rebellions broke out among the tribes both in the north and south of the kingdom, which were quelled with difficulty, and after this serious internal troubles seem to have arisen, but Takelet in the end restored order. He reigned 15 years.

SHASHANQ III.—This is the last king of his line whose inscription appears at Karnak. The birth of a remarkable Apis Bull seems to have been the only event worthy of record during this long reign of 52 years.

PAMAI—SHASHANQ IV.—These two kings appear to have been governors of provinces rather than rulers of Egypt. An inscription of this date was found in the Serapeum, stating that the sacred bull was kept in the temple of Ptah-Sekari-Osiris, and that when it died, at the age of 23 years, it was taken in a car with heavy wooden wheels to the Serapæum, to be buried there in solemn state. Other inscriptions were found in 1850 on the memorial stones of some of the priests of Apis, one dated in the 29th year of Shashanq III., one in the 2nd year of King Pamai, and one in the 28th year of Shashanq IV., son of Usarken II. In these inscriptions the name of the Mashauasha, the Libyan tribe, is mentioned.

PART V

XXIII TO XXVI DYNASTIES.

"Every vestige of the city, guessed alone,
Stock or stone—
Where a multitude of men breathed joy or woe,
Long ago."

BROWNING: *Love among the Ruins.*

According to Manetho, the XXIII Dynasty consisted of 3 kings of Tanis—PETSUBASTIS, OSORKON, PSAMOUS. These were followed by Ethiopian kings. PIANKHŶ (750–725 B.C.). —Egypt was now subdivided into many provinces, each ruled over by a king or governor. The names of 17 of them are given on the stela of Piankhŷ at Gebel Barkal. Of these, only 4 are marked as being of royal descent. The state of

confusion into which the country had now fallen, and its consequent disintegration, was such that Piankhŷ, king of Ethiopia, thought it a favourable moment to invade it. Ethiopia had once been tributary to Egypt, but under the feeble rule of the Pharaohs of the later Dynasties it had become independent. Piankhŷ accordingly entered Egypt, meeting with but slight resistance, and proclaimed himself king, while leaving the petty princes as governors of their provinces. Under this arrangement tranquillity appears to have reigned for 21 years. Tefnekht, prince of Sais and Memphis, who was the most powerful of these rulers, induced several others to join him in an attempt to overthrow the Ethiopian power. The chiefs did not all join the standard of rebellion. Per-bast, prince of Henen-seten (Herakleopolis), resisted Tefnekht, preferring the rule of Piankhŷ, but was unwillingly compelled to side with the Egyptians. Nemart, prince of Khemenu (Hermopolis), joined Tefnekht, and the rebellion assumed formidable proportions. Piankhŷ raised a large army, went against the chiefs, and was victorious. He took Prince Nemart, his wife and family, prisoners. They brought Piankhŷ costly gifts of gold, precious stones, and needlework, which the princess presented with her own hands. Her beauty touched the heart of the king, and he made peace with her husband. Then he went farther down the river and attacked Tefnekht, who "fought like a panther," making scaling ladders of the masts of the ships. After several engagements, and taking and re-taking of towns, a final stand was made by Tefnekht at Memphis, which city was stormed and taken.

Piankhŷ remained for some time in Memphis, to receive the tribute of the princes and chiefs who came to tender their submission and to celebrate religious festivals. Tefnekht appears to have been the only one who refused allegiance, but in the end he too submitted, and the rebellion was at last quelled. After this, Piankhŷ went back to his capital Napata in triumph. He won over the Egyptian princes by leaving them in possession of their provinces, and had no further trouble in Egypt. A stela with the whole history of Piankhŷ's progress was found at the Gebel Barkal, near Napata. Piankhŷ's wife was Amen-ardes. A beautiful statue of her was discovered at Thebes, which is now at Cairo. It bears the inscription, "Sister of the King Shabaka and daughter of the King Kashta."

NUT-BA-KA-RA.—At Napata a monument was found bearing the king's name, and that of his wife Geroa-ro-pi, and also of his sister, the queen of Ta-Khent (Nubia). It has been thought that this Nut-ba-ka-ra was Piankhŷ's successor.

The influence of the Ethiopians in Egypt is apparent from the introduction at this time of many new words into the language. The writing, too, was altered until it became almost undecipherable; it is called Meroitic-Demotic. Now the Demotic character is gradually becoming better understood, it is to be hoped that, as the knowledge progresses, more light will be thrown on Ethiopian history.

XXIV Dynasty.

Bak-en-ren-ef.—Only one king, Bak-en-ren-ef, Uah-ka-ra, son of Tefnekht, who seems to have won back the kingdom from the Ethiopians, is mentioned in this Dynasty. He appears to have ruled undisturbed for 6 years. A gold ring is one of the few relics of him which have come down to us. It is said that he was burnt to death by Shabaka, son of King Kashta, of Ethiopia. His sarcophagus was found in the same chamber of the Serapeum as that in which the bull was placed that died in the 37th year of Shashanq IV.

XXV Dynasty.

Shabaka (725–716 B.C.).—Although Shabaka regained the power for the Ethiopian Dynasty, and assumed the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, he did not rule there, but appointed his sister Amen-ardes, wife of King Piankhŷ, as regent.

Hoshea, who was at this time king of Israel, had joined with other Syrian monarchs to repel the advances of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser, and they appealed to Shabaka (Sô of the Bible[1]) to help them; but the conspiracy was found out, and Hoshea was imprisoned.

A new and more comprehensive alliance was then formed between Shabaka and the kings of Syria, but before he could come to the aid of his allies, Sargon II., then king of Assyria, had met and defeated them in 722 B.C.

Shabaka died 716 B.C. The kings of this Dynasty made Tanis, or Zoan, their capital.

Shabataka (715–693 B.C.).—This king fought against Sennacherib, who had succeeded Sargon on the Assyrian throne, and a treaty of peace was made and signed by them, which was found by Layard, and is now in the British Museum. He, with the princes of Tyre, Judah, and Askelon, joined with Hezekiah to repel the advance of Sennacherib, king of Assyria. At first Sennacherib was successful, and marched to Jerusalem, which

[1] 2 Kings xvii. 4.

he besieged; but Taharqa collected a fresh army and went to help Hezekiah, and the destruction of the great hosts of Sennacherib is graphically told in the Bible story.[1]

TAHARQA (693–666 B.C.).—Taharqa (Tirhakah of the Bible),[2] king of Ethiopia, having killed Shabataka, married his widow, and proclaimed himself king of Egypt. Sennacherib was murdered in 681 B.C., and his son Ashur-ah-iddin (Assarhaddon) reigned in his stead. Taharqa again leagued with other princes against the Assyrians, and Assarhaddon determined once for all to suppress the revolt. He entered Memphis with a large army, and also took Thebes, 670. Taharqa fled back to Ethiopia. Assarhaddon then assumed the sovereignty, and was styled king of Musur, or Lower Egypt, Patrus, or Upper Egypt, and Kush, or Ethiopia. A stela found at Sinjerli, in Northern Syria, now in Berlin, shows the victorious Assyrian holding the captive Taharqa (who is of distinctly negroid type) and the Syrian king Baalu by a bridle in their mouths, and gives a minute description of his triumphs.

Assarhaddon established 20 princes or governors over different provinces to carry on the business of the country. Of these, the chief was Nekau, prince of Memphis, who was beloved of the king. Assarhaddon retired in favour of his son Assurbanipal, or Sardanapalus, in 668 B.C. Once more Taharqa made an attempt to oust the Assyrians. He re-took Memphis and Thebes, but the Assyrian king defeated him, and he was so disheartened that he fled. Nekau was taken as a prisoner to Nineveh, but obtained pardon from Sardanapalus, and was allowed to return to Egypt.

The cartouche of Taharqa is found at Karnak in several places, and outside the temple of Mut are two chambers built by him and his successor; two statues of his governor of Thebes were found there. He died about 664 B.C.

TANUAT-AMEN (664 B.C.).—This king succeeded Taharqa in Ethiopia in 664 B.C., and was his stepson. He was encouraged to go to Egypt by a dream that promised him the crown. Again the Ethiopians easily overcame the country, and many of the Egyptian rulers tendered their allegiance. A stela brought by Mariette from Gebel Barkal records the victories of the Ethiopian kings in Egypt. The Assyrian account of the conquest was deciphered by M. Oppert from an inscription in Paris, in which Tanuat-Amen is called king of Kush. He made a confederation with Cyprus, which for some time remained the friend and ally of Egypt. Having put Nekau the governor to death, and obliged his son Psemtek to take refuge in flight,

[1] 2 Kings xix. 35. [2] 2 Kings xix. 9.

Tanuat-Amen lived peaceably at Memphis. When Sardanapalus heard of this fresh invasion, he sent troops against Tanuat-Amen, who immediately fled back to Ethiopia. Thebes was taken and sacked by the Assyrians; this event is alluded to in the Book of Nahum,[1] where the overthrow of No Amen (*i.e.* Thebes) is related as a warning to Nineveh.

Tanuat-Amen was the last king of Ethiopia who ventured to invade Egypt. He made Meröe his capital, instead of Napata as formerly, and many Egyptians followed him there and settled in the country. Tanuat-Amen is named on the Assyrian inscriptions as well as the Egyptian; in the former he is called Urda-mani. On the monuments at Thebes the name Rud-Amen occurs twice, and has been identified with that of this king.

XXVI Dynasty.

Psemtek I., or Psammitichus I. (666–610 B.C.).—Psammitichus I. was the son of Nekau, the governor of Memphis and Sais. When the last king fled back to Ethiopia, he became king. He married an Ethiopian princess, Shep-en-apt, daughter of Piankhŷ and Amen-ardes, the sister of Sheshang. With the assistance of Greek mercenaries, Psammitichus not only fought against the Assyrians and conquered them, but gradually subdued the numerous princes, and united Egypt once again under one head. He had dreams of following the example of Rameses the Great by extending his dominions, and with this object he led his troops into Palestine, where he succeeded in taking the city of Ashdod. He made Sais his capital, but also favoured Memphis, which was at that time one of the richest, most important, and magnificent of the cities of Egypt. He built and restored many temples. He was a good king, and began the revival of Egyptian art, which during the late period of discord had been neglected. A curious instance of the return to the style and tastes of the early Empire may be noticed in the tomb of the Ha-Prince Aba at Thebes, who was Royal Chancellor to Psemtek I., and Steward to Queen Netaquert, wife of Psemtek II. It is decorated with hieroglyphs and scenes copied from those in the tomb of his namesake Aba,[2] a nomarch of the VI Dynasty, at Dêr el Gebrawi.[3] Here and there alterations have been made by the artists to give the drawings a modern appearance, but for the most part they are direct copies, though falling far short of the spirited style of the originals. Psemtek fortified his frontiers, and made every

[1] Nahum iii. 8–10.

[2] See page 108 (Pepŷ I.).

[3] Davies, *Dêr el Gebrawi.*

possible effort to retain the friendship of the Greeks. He gave grants of land, near Bubastis, to the Ionians, and sent Egyptian boys there to learn Greek. He encouraged merchants from Tyre to settle at Memphis, and increased the trade and commerce of his kingdom. The cartouche of this king is found in the Great Hall of Karnak, and with that of Piankhŷ in a small temple there; it occurs also in the Oasis of Jupiter Amen (now called Sîweh), where he is mentioned as decorating the Carians with plumes of cock's feathers.

NEKAU, NECHO, or NECHAO (610–594 B.C.).—Nekau (Pharaoh Necho of the Bible[1]), son of Psammitichus I. and Shep-en-apt his queen, continued to reign very much on his father's lines. He restored the canal connecting the Red Sea and the Nile; he invited Greeks to settle in Egypt, and encouraged art; he added considerably to the army. The event most celebrated in his reign is the voyage made by some of his ships round Africa; the proof of their having done so is that navigators told how, as they sailed west, the sun rose on their right hand. Nekau also contemplated making foreign conquests, and fought in Syria against the Assyrians, advancing as far as the Nahr el Kelb, or "Dog River," in Northern Syria. At Megiddo, Josiah king of Judah opposed Nekau, although the latter was really only at war with Assurbanipal; in the Bible account of that battle it is told how the archers shot at King Josiah, who was wounded and borne in a chariot to Jerusalem, where he died, and was succeeded by Jehoahaz. Nekau took Jerusalem, and carried Jehoahaz away captive to Egypt, placing his brother Jehoiakim as king in his stead, and levied a heavy tribute on the conquered land.

Nekau, 4 years later, had to fight against the Babylonians,[2] who had meanwhile overcome the Assyrians, and he was completely vanquished by Nebuchadnezzar at Karkemish, 605 B.C. He must have felt it useless to continue the war, as he left Syria in the hands of the conqueror; and although often afterwards entreated by the Jews to help them, he never did so, and the support of this powerful ally being removed, they fell an easy prey to the Babylonians. Nebuchadnezzar threatened to invade Egypt, but was delayed by other events which occurred in his kingdom. Necho died at Sais, after a reign of 12 years.

PSEMTEK, or PSAMMITICHUS II., NEFER-AB-RA (594–589 B.C.).—An Egyptian inscription states that this king invaded Ethiopia, and the "graffiti" on the colossi at Abu Simbel, left by the Phœnicians, also record this war of Psammitichus. He

[1] 2 Kings xxiii. 29 *et seq.* [2] Jeremiah xlvi.

reigned 8 years only, but did much towards keeping up the temples in the Delta and in Nubia. On a small obelisk now at Nice, there is a record of Psammitichus having beautified a sacred lake at Heliopolis, and he repaired the temple at Dêr el Bahari. Inscriptions of his are found on the island of Bigeh. His wife[1] was named Netaqert, or Nitocris, the granddaughter of Psemtek I. She was buried in the Assasîf at Thebes, and her pink granite sarcophagus is now in the Cairo Museum. By some of the classical authors she has been confused with the Queen Nitocris of the VI Dynasty. She was probably the Rhodopis, or "Fair One," of whom Strabo tells the romantic tale of how an eagle flew off with one of her sandals and let it fall on the lap of the king at Memphis. He, admiring the beauty of the sandal, sent throughout the country to seek its owner, and, having found her at Naukratis, he made her his queen. The story strikingly recalls that of Cinderella. It was during this reign that Solon is said to have visited Egypt (594 B.C.).

UAH-AB-RA, or APRIES, 589–564 B.C. (Pharaoh Hophra of the Bible[2]).—The war in Syria was recommenced in this reign, and, going to the assistance of Zedekiah king of Judah, Apries took Sidon; but Nebuchadnezzar besieged him when at Tyre, and after a long time defeated him.

Herodotus says that he was deposed by one of his own officers, and afterwards strangled; but there seems no proof of this story, though it is probable that the Greek mercenaries, having become very powerful, had obliged him to share his throne with Amasis. Many of the vanquished Jews followed Apries back to Egypt, hoping that he might once again attempt to withstand the Babylonians. They took Jeremiah with them, and it was from Tiphanes, or Daphnæ, in the Delta, that he prophesied the fall of Egypt and the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, which actually took place in 567 B.C., the Babylonian king ravaging the land, according to some accounts as far as Aswân, according to others not penetrating beyond the Delta; in either case quitting the country afterwards, so the predicted doom was not wrought by him, but shortly after by his own conquerors, the Persians.

The tomb of Apries was found in the Assasîf, close to that of the high priest Pa-de-amen-em-apt of this Dynasty, which is the largest tomb yet discovered in Egypt.

AAHMES II., AMASIS (564–526 B.C.).—Amasis, like his predecessors, encouraged commerce and Greek art. He married

[1] Erman has shown that all the Theban wives of the Saitu kings were fictitious.
[2] Jeremiah xliv. 30.

a Cyrenian wife named Laodike, a daughter of Apries, whom he succeeded. By a treaty he became ruler of Cyrene, and he also for a time conquered Cyprus. He entered into defensive alliances with the Greeks, Lydians, and Babylonians, hoping by this combination to check the advancing power of the Persians; but it was unavailing. The conqueror Cyrus subdued Crœsus in Lydia, and, overcoming the Egyptian fleet off Cyprus, advanced through Syria to the frontier of Egypt. Here the Persian troops did not attack, probably owing to the death of Cyrus, whose dominion now extended as far as India.

A story is told of how Cambyses king of Persia, the son and successor of Cyrus, asked Aahmes to send him his daughter as wife. He did not do so, but sent instead a daughter of Apries, which made Cambyses very angry, and declare that he would go to war against Egypt, which in fact he did some time later.

Amasis devoted his energies almost entirely to the improvement of his country. He gave the Greeks the city of Naukratis in the Western Delta (near the present Nebireh), where they were allowed to go their own way and make their own laws independent of the Egyptians. The town soon rose to importance. Here the Greeks erected their great sanctuary the Hellenion, and several other temples. From this centre they colonised extensively throughout Egypt, and carried on an important trade with other Mediterranean ports.

PSAMMITICHUS III. (526-525 B.C.).—Psemtek III. succeeded Amasis, his father, who, although he had no right to do so, not being of royal descent, had called his son after the Saite kings.

In this reign Cambyses began his threatened invasion of Egypt, for which he had made extensive preparations. Egypt was well fortified, and it was a difficult matter to fix upon the best point at which to begin operations. The Greek historians say the country was betrayed to the Persians by a Greek soldier called Phanes. Pelusium was attacked by sea, while the army invaded the country by land. Cambyses was entirely victorious; Memphis fell into his hands, and he took the king of Egypt prisoner. Psemtek was sent to Persia, where he died, and with him the Dynasty ended. His name appears in one small temple at Thebes beside that of his mother, Queen Ankhnes.

PART VI.—THE PERSIAN RULE

XXVII TO XXXI DYNASTY.

"Thus when Cambyses led his barbarous hosts
From Persia's rocks to Egypt's trembling coasts,
Defiled each hallowed fane and sacred wood,
And, drunk with fury, swelled the Nile with blood,
Waved his proud banner o'er the Theban states,
And poured destruction through her hundred gates."
DARWIN: *March of Cambyses.*

CAMBYSES (525–522 B.C.).—After the victory at Pelusium and the fall of Naukratis and Memphis, Cambyses was virtually master of Egypt. He undertook three expeditions—one to Carthage, one to the Oasis of Amen, and one against Ethiopia. The first failed owing to the refusal of the Phœnicians, who for the most part manned the fleet, to serve; the second was disastrous, as the army of 50,000 men perished in the desert, and were never heard of again; and the third, to Ethiopia, was successful in that the country was conquered, but the army was almost annihilated on its return by a sandstorm near the First Cataract.

Cambyses, in the early part of his reign, followed the example of his father, the great Cyrus, and ruled justly and well, respecting the gods and religion of the country, and even assisting in the religious festivals. His character seems to have completely changed in later years; but whether this was owing, as some think, to his mind giving way, cannot be determined. He grew fierce, cruel, and intolerant, scoffing at the religious rites of the Egyptians, and himself killing the sacred Apis Bull at one of the great festivals. He ordered the destruction of many fine monuments throughout the country, which to this day bear witness to his violence.

On his return to Persia, Cambyses wounded himself accidentally, and died shortly after.

DARIUS HYSTASPES (521–485 B.C.).—Darius, son of Hystaspes, ascended the throne of Persia after the death of the usurper Smerdes, who had taken possession of the country while Cambyses was in Egypt. Darius had been there with him, and took great interest in the country. Soon after he came to the throne he visited Egypt, and tried to remedy some of the mischief done by Cambyses. He offered a large reward to any one who could find a new Apis, and established schools for scribes, providing everything needful for the support of the

temples, the priests, and the gods; and very soon the whole country was devoted to him. He built a temple to Amen in the Oasis of Khargeh, and cleared out the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea. This act is recorded on some granite blocks bearing an inscription in hieroglyphs, and on the reverse side a translation in Median, Persian, and Babylonian, with the name of Darius in cuneiform character enclosed in a cartouche. These were found by Lepsius near Shaluf, not far from the Bitter Lakes, and traces of the canal are still visible. The name of Darius also appears on the wall of the temple of Edfu. He levied very heavy taxes on Egypt, which amongst other contributions was compelled to provide grain for the Persian garrison of Memphis, and salt and Nile water for the royal table, while the income of the city of Anthylla was appropriated by Darius for his queen.

The country of Cyrene was now finally conquered, and, together with Egypt and Libya, was placed under one satrap, and formed a mere province of the Persian Empire.

Darius died in 485 B.C., after a reign of 36 years. There had been much dispute in Persia as to who should be the next king; but Darius decided that Xerxes, son of his wife Atossa, should succeed him.

XERXES (485–465 B.C.).—Xerxes was obliged to go to Egypt to put an end to the revolt under Kabbash, who, taking advantage of the check to their power which the Persians had received at Marathon, had now proclaimed himself king, and was strongly fortifying his frontiers. His name is found at the Serapeum near Sakkara, on one of the bull sarcophagi. Xerxes succeeded in re-establishing the Persian rule, and left the country once more at peace under Achemenes, his brother, whom he had appointed satrap. Xerxes was killed by Artabanus, the captain of the guard at Susa, in 465 B.C.

ARTAXERXES (464–448 B.C.)—The Persians seem to have gone through a very troubled period after the murder of Xerxes, but at last Artaxerxes occupied the throne, 464 B.C. The Egyptians had taken advantage of the anarchy in Persia to rebel again, and Inaros, prince of Libya, and Amyrtæus, a prince of the Delta, determined to help them. Inaros was chosen their king, and secured the alliance of the Athenians, with whom he made a treaty. They fitted out a fleet, which they sent to his assistance, and with this help the Persians were driven from their strongholds. The fleet of Artaxerxes was completely destroyed, and the few Persians who escaped fled to Memphis, and were there blockaded for three years by the Greeks and Egyptians. Artaxerxes then sent a very large army to Egypt under his

uncle, Achemenes the satrap, but he was mortally wounded, and the troops were utterly defeated at Papremis, 462 B.C. Artaxerxes therefore fitted out a second expedition, which succeeded in relieving Memphis, and the Athenians retired with their ships to the island of Prosopitis, on the Nile. There they resisted all attacks, until at last the Persians, who were led by their general Megabazus, blocked the river. Rather than submit, the Greeks were about to burn their ships, but the Persians offered them a safe conduct if they would return to Athens. Artaxerxes made Inaros prisoner, and took him to Persia, where he was killed. Amyrtæus, who took the lead after Inaros' death, effected his escape, and Egypt after this war, which had lasted 6 years, became once again subject to Persia.

In 430 B.C. a great plague appeared in Ethiopia, and spread over Egypt, and some old writers say reached even to Athens. Eleven thousand people died of it; Pericles being one of its victims. In 432 the summer solstice was fixed for June 27, and there was an eclipse of the sun.

Herodotus came to Egypt during this reign, probably between the years 455 and 450, and spent a few months in the country. He landed at Canopis in the Delta, through which he travelled, and went as far south as Memphis and the Fayûm. His visit evidently took place during the annual inundation, as he describes the country to be like a vast lake, with many islands, and even the Pyramids as being near the water. His history is unreliable, but his descriptions of the places he visited are very interesting. He embodied in his own words the statements of former travellers, among them quoting from Hekatæos of Miletus, and Hellanikos, who had visited the country shortly before, and who had been up the Nile as far as Thebes.

XERXES II.(448 B.C.)—SOGDIANUS—DARIUS II.(NOTHOS).—Of the two first kings very little is known, and scarcely anything relating to Egypt, which appears to have remained tranquil under the Persian rule. During the reign of Darius Nothos the Egyptians succeeded in regaining their independence, through Amyrtæus, who, with the assistance of the Greeks, drove the Persians out of the country and placed himself upon the throne. He was probably the son of the Amyrtæus who had helped Inaros against Artaxerxes.

XXVIII DYNASTY.

AMYRTÆOS, or AMENERDAIS (404–398 B.C.). — Amyrtæos, whose family seem throughout these troubles to have kept their

hereditary position of princes of the Delta, was joined by the king of Arabia after his successful eviction of the Persians, and together they fought the Persian fleet off the Phœnician coast; but this attempted invasion had no lasting results.

Amyrtæos died after a reign of 6 years. He tried to settle the succession on his son Nekht-hor-heb, but was unable to do so, and his son was banished.

XXIX Dynasty.

NAIF-AA-RUT I., NEPHERITES (398 B.C.).—Scarcely anything is known of this king, but blocks bearing his name were found at Thebes. He and others of this Dynasty seem to have had little claim to the throne, but were raised to power by the will of the people and the assistance of the troops. They made Mendes their capital.

HAKAR, or ACORIS (390–386 B.C.).—This king was asked by the Lacedæmonians to aid them in their war against Persia. He supplied quantities of grain and timber, but on their way to Greece the ships conveying it put into the harbour of Rhodes, not knowing that the Rhodians had meanwhile gone over to the Persians; so all their supplies were seized by the Persian admiral, who stored Rhodes with the Egyptian corn.

During his reign Hakar was constantly at war, endeavouring to keep the Persians at bay, aided by his allies of Greece and Cyprus. He died in 386 B.C.

PA-SA-MUT, or PSAMOUTHIS.—A small temple with the cartouche of this king was found at Thebes.

NEPHERITES II. succeeded his father Hakar; but the people did not support him, and the soldiers deserted him. It is believed that they deposed him, and restored Nekht-hor-heb, son of Naif-aa-rut I., whom they had banished 20 years previously, and a new Dynasty began.

XXX Dynasty.

NEKHT-HOR-HEB, or NEKTANEBUS I. (382 B.C.).—This monarch proved a powerful ruler, and under him Egypt rose once more to something of its former position among nations. He was the first of the Sebennite Dynasty, which lasted for 25 years. Nektanebus assisted the Cypriotes against the Persians, entered into an alliance with them, and endeavoured, by engaging mercenaries, to raise a large army. But the Persians were determined to attempt the re-conquest of Egypt.

A very great force, under the command of Pharnabazos, made a formidable attack upon Nektanebus' forces, which he repelled. He fortified and strengthened his positions along the Nile at Pelusium and elsewhere, and fought bravely at every point. At last the Persians grew tired, their leaders quarrelled, the great campaign ended in failure, and Egypt enjoyed peace for 18 years.

Nektanebus, in spite of his wars, added to many temples, and erected the Great Hall of the temple at Bubastis. An inscription of the 5th year of his reign was found in the quarries at Ghalabat, near Abydos.

TEHER, or TEOS (368–361 B.C.). — Teos succeeded Nekthor-heb, and appointed Nekht-neb-ef, afterwards Nektanebus II., co-regent. In 361 B.C. he made a treaty with King Agesilaus of Sparta, and came against the king of Persia; the command of the fleet had been given to the Athenian Chabras, Teos having charge of the local troops. However, no decisive battle was fought, but, being at the head of such a large force, Teos determined to attack Syria, where he took some cities. The Egyptians after a time refused to recognise him as their king, and offered the crown to Nektanebus II. Teos fled to Artaxerxes for protection, who actually gave him command over the army that was about to invade Egypt, but he did not live to become a traitor to his country, as he died at the Persian Court shortly afterwards.

NEKHT-NEB-EF, NEKTANEBUS II. (361 B.C.).—This king recalled the Egyptian forces from Syria and Phœnicia. Agesilaus remained for some time longer in Egypt, and helped Nektanebus to defend a town against an usurper from Mendes, who tried to gain the throne, but was repulsed with heavy loss. After this the Greeks left the country, Agesilaus dying on the voyage home.

Artaxerxes now sent an army against Nektanebus under the command of his son Ochus; but the Persian king died before it reached Egypt, and Ochus succeeded him. He shortly afterwards advanced again, and was successful in Syria. The Sidonians, finding resistance useless, set fire to their city, and thousands perished in the flames.

Cyprus was also taken by the Persians, who then moved on to Egypt and attacked Pelusium. Here a stand of several days was made by Nektanebus, and a battle was fought with no decisive result. He had not a competent general, and his army, which numbered less than that of the Persians, lost heart and retired to Memphis. In a short time, one after another, the Egyptian fortresses surrendered, and after the fall of Bubastis,

Nektanebus, thinking further resistance hopeless, escaped to Ethiopia, taking with him much treasure.

Egypt, after 65 years of independence, again came under Persian rule.

XXXI Dynasty to the Invasion of Alexander.

Ochus (349–333 B.C.).—Ochus was cruel, and at times seems to have been scarcely in his right mind, and, like Cambyses, insulted the Egyptian religion, killed and ate the sacred Apis Bull, and also the sacred ram at Mendes; he likewise made a god of an ass[1]—which acts were abhorrent to the Egyptians. The temples were plundered and destroyed, and their treasures carried to Persia. Ochus also carried away the sacred books, and obliged the priests to re-purchase them at enormous prices.

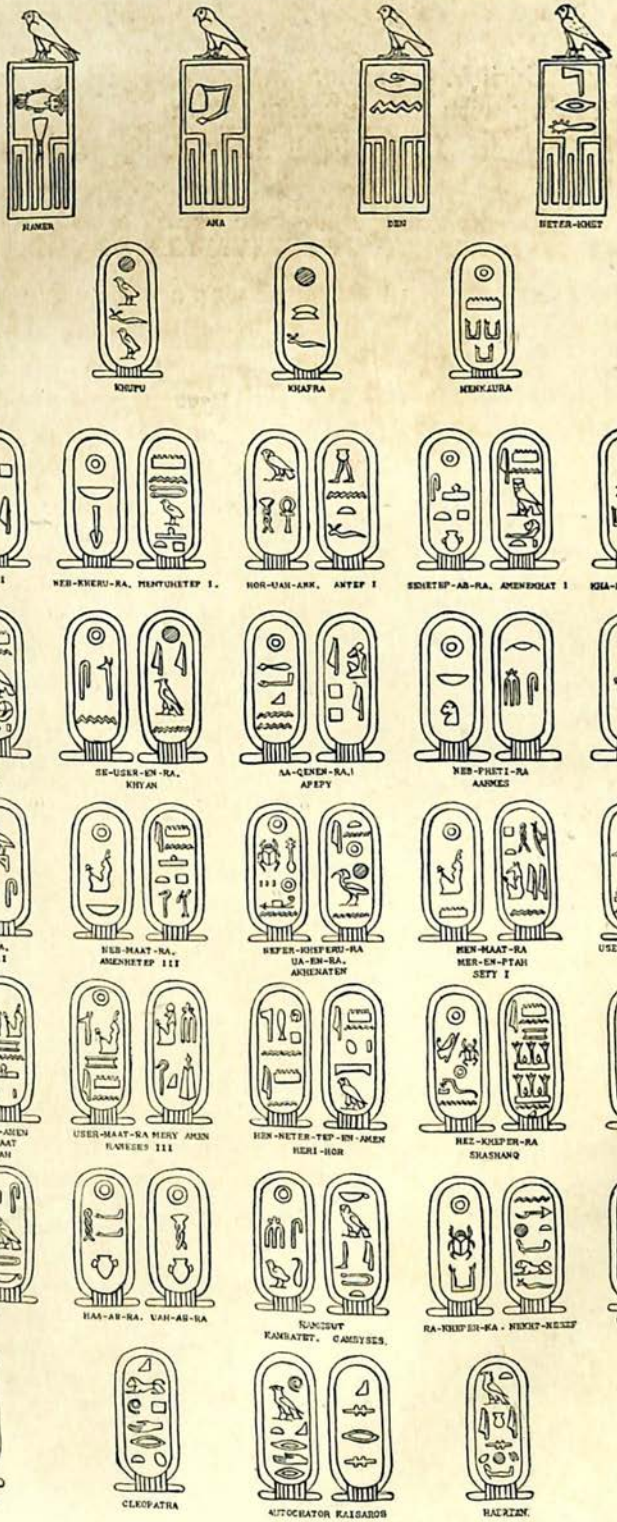
Egypt remained under Persian rule for 12 years. Ochus having appointed as satrap Pherendates, a Persian, returned himself to Persia, where he was murdered by a slave called Bagoas, in 331 B.C.

Darius III.—Darius III. was placed upon the throne after the murder of Arses, who, succeeding Ochus, had reigned for only 3 years. He did not long enjoy his kingdom, owing to the invasion of the Greeks under Alexander king of Macedon. Egypt took no part in the great struggle between Persia and the Greeks, and remained peaceful even though the Persian troops were recalled. The country might easily have freed itself from the Persian yoke had the people been less apathetic, but only one feeble and unsuccessful attempt was made.

Darius was defeated by Alexander the Great at Issus in 333 B.C., and again at Arbela in 331 B.C. This was the final overthrow of the Persian Empire. Darius was afterwards murdered by Bessus, satrap of Baltan, and Alexander sent his body to be laid beside the other Persian kings at Persepolis.

Bessus proclaimed himself king of Persia, but this could only be in name, as Alexander was master of the country.

[2] Set, page 66.



CARTOUCHES OF SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL KINGS AND QUEENS OF EGYPT.

CHAPTER VI

THE PTOLEMIES[1]

ALEXANDER

"Where now the haughty empire that was spread
With such fond hope? her very speech is dead."
WORDSWORTH.

AT this moment in the history of Egypt the whole of the Eastern world was being rapidly conquered by Alexander the Great.

After the battle of Issus, a town in Cilicia, on the gulf now called Iskenderoun, Alexander advanced to Syria, and, having besieged Tyre for 7 months and Gaza for 2 months, he at last took these cities. He then received the submission of Jerusalem, and went on to Egypt. Sabakes, the Persian governor of Egypt who fought under Darius, had been killed at Issus. As soon as Alexander arrived at Pelusium (332 B.C.), the Egyptian people welcomed him to their country and were pleased to accept his rule, which they had heard was tolerant and just, a contrast to the rule of the Persians, who were so hated for their severity and cruelty. He advanced to Memphis, and was received there in triumph by Mazakes, the acting governor, and presented with 800 talents of silver. He shortly after set out for the Great Oasis. There is a legend that two ravens led the way, and that he followed their flight, which brought him to the temple of Amen. He very nearly lost his escort in crossing the desert for want of water, but a shower of rain, supposed to have been a miracle, saved them, and the priests gave Alexander the title of "Son of Jupiter Amen." He at once took an interest in the religion of the Egyptians, and offered sacrifices to their gods, especially to Amen, Ptah, and Apis; but he also introduced into the ceremonies Greek games

[1] This chapter is epitomised from the work, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, by Professor Mahaffy.

and musical entertainments. It is probable that Alexander was then formally crowned king by the priests, and Egypt became once more the possession of a foreign ruler.

Finding the existing town of Rakotis to be situated on a convenient part of the coast, possessed of a good harbour near the island of Pharos, between the Mediterranean and Lake Mareotis, and surrounded by several navigable channels of the Nile, Alexander here created a new capital, and called it Alexandria. To this day it continues to be a most flourishing town, unlike so many others, such as Babylon, Memphis, and Thebes, that are now but heaps of ruins. Strabo, writing in 24 B.C., says that while Alexander was engaged in laying out the plans of this town with flour on the black earth, an old custom in Macedonia, a flock of different kinds of birds came and ate up the flour, which the people said was a good omen, as it foretold great abundance to many nations. Strabo visited Alexandria, and describes it as a vast city. Pliny said it was 15 miles in circumference; the Greeks called it a beautiful city, and the Romans thought it ranked next to their own capital in magnificence.

Alexander having established the Macedonian power in Egypt, set out on fresh expeditions, and carried his successful arms far to the East. On his return from India by Ecbatana, the capital of Media, he reached Babylon in the spring, 324 B.C., and was preparing for further conquests when he was attacked by a fever, and, after an illness of 11 days, died in May or June 323 B.C., at the age of 32, after a reign of 12 years and 8 months. During this short life, through the extraordinary success of his campaigns, he had completely changed the balance of power in the East, and established a new order of things on the ruins of the older empires; he adopted the Ram's horn of Mendes on his coins.

PTOLEMY I. SATRAP, AFTERWARDS SOTER, (323–283).

Ptolemy I., called Soter, son of Lagus and Arsinoë, was born in the village of Eordea, in the province of Mygdon, in Macedonia, in the year 369 B.C.

He is supposed by some people to have been of humble origin, but this can hardly have been the case, as we find that he was brought up and educated at the Court of Philip king of Macedon, with the young Alexander. Owing to some offence, he was sent into exile, and not recalled until after the death of Philip. When Alexander succeeded to the throne, he brought back Ptolemy, and placed him as one of the 7

officers who were chosen as his special guards in war and favoured companions in peace. He was one of his greatest generals, and was wise and prudent in warfare; he commanded in some of the Greek campaigns, and was conspicuous for his military skill. After the capture of Gaza and Tyre, when Alexander made his triumphal entry into Egypt by Pelusium, Ptolemy accompanied him.

At the death of Alexander in 323 B.C., his half-brother Arridæus and his young son Alexander were appointed to reign together over the Empire, under the guardianship of Perdikkas. Ptolemy claimed for himself the office of satrap or governor of Egypt, and the people at once accepted him as their ruler.

Cleomenes, a native of Naukratis, the financial minister at Alexandria, had forbidden the exportation of corn during a period of famine, but afterwards put a great price on it, and kept a large share of the profits for himself. He also made the priests in the Crocodile nome pay a great sum to him as compensation for a slave that he said had been eaten by a crocodile, and ordered all such creatures to be killed; therefore, in order to save their favourite gods, the priests paid him another large sum of money. These acts were so unjust, that Ptolemy was able to rid himself of Cleomenes by putting him to death. The following year (322 B.C.) Ptolemy arranged that the body of Alexander should be brought to Egypt from Babylon. Perdikkas opposed this, and wished to have it taken to Ægæ, the burial-place of the Macedonian kings; but Ptolemy prevailed, and caused the remains to be enclosed in a golden sarcophagus, placed on a bier, and drawn by 64 mules with a military escort. He himself met the procession at Pelusium with much ceremony, and people from all parts of the world went to join in the pageant. The body was conveyed in a splendid barge up the Nile to Memphis, to be kept there until the final resting-place, the Sema in Alexandria, was ready for its reception. Here it remained in its golden sarcophagus until the reign of Ptolemy XIII., when the golden case was carried off, and the body was put into one made of glass. Strabo writes that he saw it in 24 A.D., but that the case was of alabaster.

Ptolemy's first aim was to make friends with the kings of Cyprus, so as to strengthen his position against the regent Perdikkas, who had sent a fleet from Phœnicia to subdue them. With the help of their fleet and that of Antigonus, satrap of Phrygia, who, flying from Perdikkas, willingly joined in the alliance, Ptolemy secured his seaboard for a time from the attacks of Perdikkas. Soon after, circumstances enabled Ptolemy

to place his general Ophelas as governor of Cyrene, where there had been much internal quarrelling, and the country was annexed to Egypt, 322 B.C. Perdikkas now invaded Egypt, and brought with him Arridæus and his wife Eurydike, the young Alexander and his mother Roxane. They attacked Ptolemy at a place called "The Camels' Fort," and after a night march crossed a disused canal without difficulty, and nearly succeeded in surprising the fort where the army was entrenched. The water, however, burst into the canal with such violence as to cause great loss of life amongst the soldiers, giving the disloyal an excuse to desert, but as many as Perdikkas could catch were put to death. This assault having failed, he made a forced march to a point of the Nile near Memphis, where the greater part of his army perished in crossing the river, and so much discontent ensued that the soldiers mutinied, and Perdikkas was murdered by them. Ptolemy fought most bravely; he disabled the leading elephant of the enemy's army, and performed many other warlike deeds. His treatment of the prisoners won the hearts of the Macedonian soldiers, and he was offered the regency in place of Perdikkas, but he thought it better to decline the honour at that time. At the second division of the Eastern Empire of Alexander, after the council at Triparadeisus in 321 B.C., Egypt became formally his by right of conquest. Ptolemy was married at this time to Eurydike, daughter of Antipater the Macedonian; and he married again in 317 B.C. Berenike, a widow, grandniece of Antipater. She had a son Magas, afterwards made king of Cyrene, and two daughters, Theoxane, who married Agathocles of Syracuse, and Antigone, who married Pyrrhus king of Epirus. During this period of peace Ptolemy restored some of the Egyptian temples, especially the outer shrine of the Great Temple at Luxor, built by Thothmes III. It bears the names of Philip Arridæus and the boy-king Alexander. The young king was murdered by Cassandar in 311 B.C. The fine statue of Aswân granite which was found in the temple, and is now in the Cairo Museum, represents Alexander IV. as a tall, well-grown youth, with a gentle, sad expression.

The war for the possession of Syria against Antigonus, lord of Asia Minor, began again in 315 B.C. The Egyptian army took Jaffa and Gaza easily, but Tyre resisted for 15 months. The fleet under the command of Menelaus, brother of Ptolemy, succeeded in keeping Cyprus, and made negotiations which caused Antigonus to be powerless, especially as he was deserted by his principal general near Caria. At the same time as the possession of Cyprus was secured, Cyrene revolted, but was quickly subdued; the ringleaders were sent as prisoners to

Alexandria, and Ophelas restored to power as governor once more. In 312 B.C. there was another battle at Gaza, but as Antigonus was fighting in Asia Minor, the army was commanded by his son Demetrius. It was about equal in strength to that of the Egyptians, with the addition of 40 elephants. In those days the Egyptian army had not employed these animals in war, and the account of the tactics of each general is very carefully described by Diodorus. To attack elephants must have been a very serious affair, but the charge was so successfully performed by the main front of the army, that Demetrius fled to Azotus. Ptolemy sent all his personal property back to him, with compliments on his bravery in the fearful struggle, From this point Ptolemy's successes all through Syria were complete, and even Jerusalem laid down its arms. As the advance against it was made on the Sabbath day, it is said that the Jews would not return the attack.

Ptolemy is supposed to have carried many prisoners from Syria into Egypt, as Jewish names are found on the papyri of this period. His success, however, did not last long, as at the end of the same year (312 B.C.) Antigonus had regained possession of all the towns in Syria, which were never reconquered by Ptolemy, and terms of peace were signed in 311 B.C.

It is almost impossible to follow all the conquests and defeats which took place in the wars between Egypt and the neighbouring countries of Syria, Greece, and the Islands during the next few years. Ptolemy took Corinth, lost Salamis, and both lost and regained many other places, until the important battle won by his fleet caused the defeat of Antigonus, and restored the supremacy of the sea to Ptolemy. This victory was owing to a tremendous storm, which created great havoc among the enemy's ships, and made the entrance to the harbour at Pelusium impossible. In the month of November 305 B.C., Ptolemy was no longer called "Satrap," but took the title of "King of Egypt." All his great wars now came to an end, though lesser disputes constantly arose. Alliances were made between Seleukos king of Syria and Lysimachus king of Thrace, old commanders who were with Alexander at the battle of Issus, and among those between whom he divided the Empire at his death. At the time that Ptolemy had assumed the title of king there were some dissensions in the island of Rhodes, which was attacked by Antigonus because it had remained neutral during the late war. Ptolemy went to the relief of the Rhodians, and, after a siege of nearly a year, the fleet commanded by Demetrius was driven from their shores; the gratitude of the people was so great that they built a temple called the Ptolemæcion to his

honour, and almost worshipped him as a god, calling him "Soter," or "Saviour."

The Colossus of Rhodes, one of the Seven Wonders of the World, was also a trophy of this war, being made of the bronze of the machines used in the siege by Demetrius. It was 103 feet high, and stood at the entrance of the harbour. It was made by Chares of Lindus, and took 12 years to complete, and was dedicated to the Sun and Stars.

The ambition of Antigonus led to another war, and we find the four generals, who had been as often allies as foes, striving again for the possession of Asia Minor. The battle of Ipsus was fought in 301 B.C., and ended in the defeat and death of Antigonus, who was then 80 years of age. Lysimachus and Seleukos were likewise old men. The death of Antigonus caused another division of the Empire. Ptolemy was not present at the conference, but the kingdom of Egypt remained his share. He allied himself more closely to Lysimachus by giving him his daughter Arsinoë to wife, and her half-sister Lysandra to his son Agathocles. Ptolemy also regained Cyprus from Demetrius. Inscriptions bearing his name are rare on the temples of Egypt, but every year new papyri and stelæ are being discovered with records of his reign. In a hieroglyphic inscription we find that he restored many of the gods to their places in the temples; that he resided chiefly "at Alexandria, formerly called Rakotis by the Sea"; "he brought them great spoil"; "when he returned he was glad, and celebrated a good day"; "He gave the land of Buto, from Hermopolis on the north and Sebennytus on the west, to the priests of Pe and Tep."

Soter encouraged the worship of the Egyptian gods, and was represented on the monuments with Pasht, Hathor, Amen, and others, and he spent a large sum of money on the burial of an Apis Bull. In a dream the king saw a statue of the god Serapis, which was afterwards found to exist at Sinope, in Pontus, and accordingly great gifts were sent to the ruler of Sinope, who in return sent the statue to Egypt. Ptolemy placed it in a beautiful temple built to receive it in Alexandria, and from that time the worship of this god Serapis—a new combination of Osiris and Apis—became most popular. The Serapeum was situated in Rakotis, the most ancient part of the city, and was said to be the finest building in the world.

In 1894, while making the foundations of the new Bank in the modern city of Alexandria, a stone was discovered with a cavity containing 4 plaques of stone, bronze, silver and gold,

on which was inscribed a dedication of the temple to Serapis by Ptolemy IV.[1]

Alexandria was probably free from taxes under Soter, and enjoyed many curious privileges, one being that the citizens should only be beaten with a stick, not with a whip of hide, like the modern "Kûrbash."

The army, with the king at its head, practically ruled the country. Ptolemy built in the Greek style the towns of Ptolemais, now called Menshîeh, and Menelaus (named after his brother), in the Nitrian nome. The greatest monument of this reign was the famous Museum in the Brucium quarter of Alexandria, of which now unfortunately no trace remains, owing to its destruction by Aurelian, 293 A.D., although possibly relics of it may lie buried many feet below the foundations of the modern city. Very few accounts have been handed down to us, but from these we gather that it must have been exceptionally magnificent and luxurious, having numerous courts and cloisters. Here Euclid wrote his wonderful book of elements, Herophilus a learned treatise on surgery, Hippocrates his work on medicine, and Ptolemy Soter a life of Alexander the Great, which is quoted by Arrian as being the best and most reliable authority. Here, too, Apeles the great Athenian painter, and Antiphilus the sculptor, studied art.

Ptolemy had several children. The son who ought to have succeeded him was Ptolemy, called Keraunos, or "Thunderbolt," the son of Eurydike, but he was persuaded by his favourite wife Berenike to make her son Philadelphus his successor, and Keraunos was sent into exile to his uncle Lysimachus. Ptolemy Philadelphus was born in 308 B.C. in the island of Kos. Kos was a favourite resort of the king and court, and any particularly favoured exile was sent to this island. Professors and students from the Museum at Alexandria often passed the vacation there, or went there to rest after the fatigues of study. Here there was a famous school for the education of the young princes, which even rivalled in learning those at Alexandria, and therefore Philetas of Kos was chosen as tutor for Philadelphus.

Ptolemy Soter in the 40th year of his reign abdicated in favour of Philadelphus, whose coronation was a most magnificent ceremony. During the two years he lived after his son was placed on the throne, he always appeared on state occasions as a subject, giving up all royal rights, although devoting himself to making his capital and his kingdom beautiful and prosperous. The remains of his great works that have been discovered prove without doubt the originality of his ideas and the refinement of

[1] Now in the possession of M. Falco, Paris.

his tastes, from the delicate specimens of gold and metal work to the elaborate decoration of the massive and gorgeous architecture of the public buildings, which made the city of Alexandria "the fairest in the world."

He died 283 B.C., in the 85th year of his age, and, to use Mahaffy's own words, "leaving a record to posterity which few men in the world have surpassed. Equally efficient whether as servant or master, he made up for the absence of genius, in war or diplomacy, by his persistent good sense, the moderation of his demands, the courtesy of his manners to friend and foe alike."

The only portrait which exists of him is that on the coins, and this, though probably not really true to life, shows great strength of character and kindliness.

PTOLEMY II. PHILADELPHUS (285–247 B.C.).

The Empire of Egypt as founded by Ptolemy I. still included Syria and Cyrene, and extended to the river Euphrates. After the death of Demetrius "the Besieger," Philadelphus was the chief ruler of the Ægean Sea and its provinces; his fleet was commanded by his admiral Philocles, king of Sidon, and commerce from numerous ports greatly increased the revenues of Egypt. Soon after the death of Soter, Philadelphus put to death his stepbrother Argacus;[1] in fact, several of his family were disposed of; he said he was sorry to do so and meant no harm, but it had to be done "for the sake of expediency." He was very kind to his sister Philotera, who lived happily with his wives. Cities were named after her, and she was created a goddess, having a special shrine at Memphis.

Ptolemy II. first married Arsinoë, daughter of Lysimachus, king of Thrace; she had three children, of whom one became Ptolemy III. Arsinoë was accused of plotting against the king, so was banished to Koptos in Upper Egypt, where a stela was found in 1894 mentioning her name. Philadelphus then married his beautiful sister Arsinoë II., widow of Keraunos.

The greatest event in the early part of the reign of Ptolemy II. was the monster procession about 280 B.C. at Alexandria, described by Callixenes, and frequently mentioned by later writers. The discovery of an inscription of Nikourgia, an island near Delos, has shown that this was an account, not of the king's coronation, as has been supposed, but of a great feast in honour of Soter and Berenike I., his father and mother. On this occasion the city of Alexandria was divided into districts, each vying with the other which could make the greatest display, and the

enormous sums spent and the costly materials used seem now incredible. There were cars carrying gorgeously dressed figures representing gods and goddesses, trophies of gold and silver, crowns and spears, coloured banners and "thunderbolts." Animals which must have been brought from great distances, joined in the parade; there were lions, snow-white Indian oxen, leopards, panthers, lynxes, a great white bear, a giraffe, and an Ethiopian rhinoceros; chariots drawn by elephants, antelopes, goats, and wild asses; camels laden with spices from Arabia Felix; ivory tusks and ebony; men carrying shrubs full of birds sitting on their branches, besides peacocks, pheasants, guinea-fowl, and the like.

The costumes of different countries were represented by troops of men and women; and though this "festival was held in winter, there was abundance of fresh grapes" to illustrate a vintage scene on one of the great cars of the procession, where "sixty satyrs trod the winepress to the sound of flute and song." The procession lasted a whole day, being opened by a figure of the Morning Star, and closed at night by Hesperus; 57,000 troops marched past. The cost of the feast was more than one million pounds of our money, and it was held in a huge banqueting-room, where delicacies of every sort were placed before the guests.

The riches of Philadelphus exceeded the wealth of all other reigning kings. He had a particular fancy for every kind of living animal, and established a zoological garden, which was kept up at great cost at Alexandria. Diodorus tells us a wonderful tale of the huge serpent which was caught by private enterprise, to please the king, by a whole army of people, horse, foot, and dragoons, and brought to Alexandria in a "sort of giant lobster-pot." In the foundations of the city of Naukratis, which he repaired, his name has been found on many of the stones. A stela now at Cairo relates to the offerings made by Philadelphus and Arsinoë to the Ram god Mendes, at whose enthronement he was present. It says how he on this occasion added many new titles to his queen, calling her "the charming Princess, the very beautiful Lady, the divine Arsinoë Philadelphus, that loves her brother"; how he made "the temple more beautiful than ever it was," and how "he returned to his capital rejoicing at what he had done."

In the year 15 of his reign, in the month Pachon, "this great lady Arsinoë went to Heaven." Many honours were bestowed upon her, and the king remitted the shipping and bread taxes in the Mendes nome in memory of her. Philadelphus was 40 years old when his wife died; she had no children, but the son

of the first Arsinoë had been adopted by her. Several towns were called after her, temples dedicated to her, and she was associated with her husband in everything. There is a very fine coin with her portrait and that of the king on one side; another with her head alone, and an eagle with a cornucopia on the reverse. She had been for about 10 years queen of Egypt, and was a woman of remarkable beauty, and her power and influence extended throughout all the Greek dominions. There was a curious statue of her seated on an ostrich found at Thespiæ, in Greece. She had a throne-name on her cartouche, which was an unusual honour for a queen. The king never ceased to regret her, and continued through the remaining 22 years of his reign to worship her as a goddess. A beautiful temple was built to her memory at the Serapeum in Alexandria, and an obelisk 85 cubits (or 99 feet) high of Aswân granite was placed before it. This has disappeared, but by some it is supposed to have been re-erected as "Pompey's Pillar." The king spent much time in trying to devise a wonderful *iron* statue of her, to float in a loadstone temple between heaven and earth, but this was never accomplished.

Philadelphus was one of the greatest benefactors to the gods, and he turned the property of the priests into a yearly gift from himself, so as to make them dependent on his bounty. One of the finest chambers at Philæ, discovered by Captain Lyons in 1896, bears his name and titles and a special consecration to Isis. He also built a great temple in her honour, called the Iseum, in the Delta; it was built of granite from the quarries at Aswân, and is the only one constructed entirely of this material. It is now completely in ruins. Numbers of temples were built by Philadelphus to employ the people; the money collected by him in taxes was by this means repaid in wages, and it was considered an honour to be employed in the construction of these buildings.

Alexandria was increasing in importance very rapidly. The Museum and Library were under the special care of the king, and great men were working and teaching in the schools, whose names have ever remained famous, such as Callimachus, the historian whose history of Alexander has been lost, Apollonius the grammarian, Theocritus the poet, and others. The writing of the history of Egypt in Greek by Manetho[1] took place in this reign, the existing translations of which are invaluable to students of Egyptian history; but he seems to have despised the writings of Herodotus, and exposed his ignorance of Egypt. It is generally believed that in Philadelphus' reign the transla-

[1] See page 85, "Sources of History."

PHILAE IN 1895.

PHILAE AFTER THE OPENING OF THE DAM 1902.

tion of the Pentateuch into Greek was made. It is said that Demetrius Phalereus, the keeper of the Library, advised Philadelphus to have this translation compiled, and it is supposed that the king sent an embassy to Eleazar, the high priest at Jerusalem, to ask permission. Eleazar consented, and sent 72 learned men with the roll of the Law. They were received at the court of Alexandria, and conducted to the island of Pharos, that they might carry out this great work undisturbed. There are many traditions about it: one says that it was "written in letters of gold" in Jerusalem, brought back in great state, received at Alexandria by the king himself, and deposited in the Museum library; but it is much more likely that the translation was made very gradually in Alexandria. It is known to all as the Septuagint.

Although literature and the arts had flourished for some years, the country had not absolute peace; but the accounts of Philadelphus' campaigns are "vague and undefined." He had wars with Magas of Cyrene and with the king of Syria, but suffered one great naval defeat at Kos, from Antigonus, king of Macedon, owing to which he lost control of the Ægean Sea until his victory at Andros restored his prestige in 247 B.C.

Philadelphus encouraged trade from India by the Red Sea to the ports on the coast between Aden and Suez. For the guidance of ships coming to Alexandria, he commissioned his architect, Sostratos of Cnidos, to build a beacon tower in the harbour, on the east point of the island of Pharos. A bank, 7 furlongs in length, was raised to join the island to the mainland. The lighthouse was made of marble or limestone, many storeys high, and could be seen by sailors 300 stadia, or 33 miles, out at sea. An inscription was written on the side facing the sea in very large letters of lead, melted into the stone, and afterwards overlaid with gold. At the top a lamp was perpetually kept burning. This tower has often been mentioned in history; it was taken by Julius Cæsar about 30 B.C., but finally destroyed by an earthquake in the Middle Ages. It was one of the Seven Wonders of the World.

Philadelphus sent a most distinguished embassy to Rome, to offer friendship with that Republic, whose importance in the world was then dawning. This was accepted, and lasted through the Dynasty of the Ptolemies, and much trade was carried on by merchant-ships between Puteoli in Italy and Alexandria.

In the Fayûm, Philadelphus established a colony of his Greek Veterans, or "Reserve Men," gave them grants of land, and encouraged them in every way, doing all he could to pro-

mote their prosperity; and his queen Arsinoë seems also to have taken great interest in this settlement, and the nome was re-named after her. The fish in Lake Moeris had always been the property of the queens of Egypt, but it appears that Arsinoë reclaimed a portion of land from this huge lake, and gave up her right to the fishing for the benefit of the colonists, who, out of gratitude to her, after her death worshipped her as their goddess.

It is proved that there were Jew as well as Greek settlers in the Fayûm, as one town is called Samaria, and two men are mentioned, oil merchants, who had Jewish names.

It would be useless to attempt to explain in a short space the complicated system of government, but a good idea of life at that time may be gathered from letters written on papyrus which have lately been discovered among the ruins of various cities in the Fayûm. The Revenue Papyrus gives a special account of the great wealth of the country, the division of the land, and the settlement of the people. They appeared to have lived peaceably, and society was well ordered in all its grades, showing a high standard of culture. Individuals made wills, and were allowed to dispose of their property as they chose.

As Philadelphus grew older, he associated his son Euergetes in the government, and betrothed him to Berenike, daughter of Magas, king of Cyrene, thus securing possession of that country. He also arranged a marriage between his daughter Berenike and Antiochus II. (Theos), king of Syria, who, in order to marry her, divorced his first wife Laodike. Having established the prosperity of his Dynasty, Philadelphus died in 246 B.C., at the age of 60, leaving this splendid inheritance to his son.

PTOLEMY III. EUERGETES (247–222 B.C.).

Euergetes was about 35 years of age when he succeeded his father Philadelphus, and though his stepmother Arsinoë II. seems to have taken the lead in ruling the country, he had shared in the government before he came to the throne. His temperament was strange and changeable, sometimes vigorous and at others slothful; and though many great conquests were made in his reign, he does not appear to have taken a personal part in any but the first. This campaign was against Seleukos king of Syria, to avenge the cruel murder of Euergetes' sister Berenike and her daughter, who were besieged by Laodike, the divorced queen of Antiochus II., at Daphnæ, a suburb of Antioch. This wicked queen Laodike

had also caused her husband to be murdered, being jealous of his preference for Berenike, who on the death of the king placed her own son Seleukos on the throne. Euergetes hurried from Egypt to try to save his sister's life, but she had been killed before he arrived.

Although too late to save Berenike, Euergetes with the Egyptian army (as we find from a papyrus written by a soldier who took part in the campaign) landed at Seleukia on the Orontes, and occupied Antioch, being everywhere victorious.

Just before leaving Egypt for this expedition, called the Third Syrian War, Berenike the wife of Euergetes, daughter of Magas king of Cyrene, made a vow that if he returned crowned with success, she would sacrifice her beautiful hair and give it as an offering to the temple of Arsinoë Aphrodite, or the Epi-Zephyrian Venus, which building had been erected by Ptolemy Philadelphus. When Euergetes returned from his successful war, the hair was deposited with much ceremony in the temple. After a short time, however, it was removed, and, to pacify the king, the court astronomer Conon persuaded him that it had been carried up to heaven, there for ever to remain as a constellation of beautiful stars. The astronomer called it the "Coma Berenices," the name by which a constellation is known to this day.

Euergetes extended his conquests to Bactria, Babylon, and Persia, and left Xanthippus in charge of his newly-acquired possessions. He then returned to Asia Minor and began to attack Ephesus, but was opposed by the Rhodians, who, though they approved his Eastern conquests, did not like him to rule a country so near their own. Aratus, the Greek commander, after the capture of Corinth, appointed the king of Egypt "Generalissimo of the Achæan League" by land and sea. Greece was favourably inclined towards Egypt, and the Romans still remained allies and friends.

Euergetes was recalled to Egypt in consequence of some home disturbances, and arrived in time to assist the queen in averting a very great famine which was threatening the country, by ordering corn supplies from Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Cyrene, at great cost. These particulars are all written in Greek on the stela known as the Decree of Canopus.[1] The title of Euergetes "Benefactor" was conferred on him for this, as well as for restoring the gods to the temples from which they had been carried away to Babylon by Cambyses and former conquerors. This stela also records the sudden death of his child; in the beautiful words of the inscription, "she passed away suddenly

[1] See page 89.

into the everlasting world." The king commanded that divine honours should be paid to her.

After this time there were no important wars, and Euergetes devoted himself to doing good to his country. He added greatly to the Museum and Library, and at the death of Callimachus appointed the learned Eratosthenes, the author of a famous ode to the king, chief librarian, and tutor to his son. Eratosthenes solved some wonderful mathematical problems, and was one of the many learned men who adorned this age, and who laboured hard to promote literature and the advancement of art and science. He wrote on astronomy and the geography of Egypt, which was afterwards criticised by Strabo. An account of the Seven Wonders of the World was written by Philo, and many other books of marvels and epigrams date from this time. Even at this early period we hear of collections of "old books," and there were dealers who artificially dyed modern manuscripts so as to deceive purchasers—a practice unfortunately not yet relinquished. Many stelæ and inscriptions recording the triumphs of Euergetes, besides papyri discovered at Gurob, give a full description of the laws, taxes, and general management of the country.

Euergetes encouraged the preservation of elephants in Arabia and the breeding of horses at home. He made roads which were called the "king's highway," and it is proved from the discovery of bills, paid at that time, that people travelled in carriages drawn by two or four horses from Memphis to the Fayûm; the contracts with the drivers being made in the same manner as at the present day. There is a story told by a Jew named Josephus, nephew of Onias, the high priest at Jerusalem, who was sent to Egypt as an ambassador to the Jewish people. When he arrived at Alexandria, he heard that the king and queen had gone to Memphis, and therefore followed them. On the road he met his friend Athenion, the late ambassador to Judæa, who at once presented him to the king and queen, who were driving in their chariot. Josephus made himself so agreeable to the king, that he asked him to take a seat in the chariot, and afterwards invited him to the palace as a royal guest, which caused much jealousy among the Syrian nobility.

Euergetes took great interest in farming, and lists of various products were strictly kept, in which the culture of vines is especially mentioned. Plutarch relates that Cleomenes king of Sparta quarrelled with the king over the payment of subsidies which he had for years sent to Greece. Cleomenes headed the revolt of the people in a civil war against the aristocracy, led by Amatus, in the Peloponnesus. The battle of Sellasia, however,

decided the fate of Cleomenes: he took flight, and went to Egypt to claim the protection of Euergetes, to whom he had sent his mother and son as hostages during the war. He was kindly received by the king, who much admired him for his noble character and high aims. It was the intention of Euergetes to help to restore him to his kingdom of Sparta, but he was never able to carry out this plan, as he died shortly after. Near the end of his reign a great earthquake destroyed the Colossus of Rhodes, which had stood for 66 years. Euergetes gave a large sum to restore the town after the earthquake, but it does not appear that the Rhodians ever tried to set up their statue again. It lay on the ground in ruins for 814 years, till A.D. 672, when Moawyas, the Khaliph of Egypt, sold it to a Jew, and 600 camels were laden with the metal of which it was made.

There was an important alteration made in the calendar at this time, which is mentioned in the Decree of Canopus, when the one day of Leap Year was added every fourth year, making 365¼ days the number in the year, as at the present time, instead of merely adding, as formerly, 5 days at the end of each year of 360, and omitting the quarter-day. This arrangement was made to suit the yearly festivals, so that they should each fall in their proper season; the extra day in every fourth year was to be called the feast of the "Benefactor Gods."

The only portraits of Euergetes apart from the conventional Egyptian figures at Karnak, which are not likenesses, are upon the coins. His face resembles that of Philadelphus. He wears a crown with spikes round his head, and holds a trident in his hand. The queen on the coins is very like Arsinoë, and wears a veil over her head—perhaps to hide the loss of her tresses. The portrait of Berenike is from a green basalt head, evidently a portion of a life-sized statue of the queen. It shows well the thickness of her beautiful wavy hair, which is gathered into a knot at the back. This head was found at Berenike on the Red Sea in 1860. It was somewhat damaged, but the features have been restored from those on the coins.[1]

Euergetes was a good king, and greatly increased the prosperity of his country, both as regards his numerous conquests of foreign nations and his improvements in laws and government at home. He multiplied the wealth of his kingdom by extensive farming, encouraged commerce with distant lands, and allowed foreigners to settle in Egypt, who instructed his people in the arts of other nations. He beautified and restored many temples. There is a Greek inscription in gilt letters on

[1] Amherst Collection.

the doorway at Philæ mentioning his wife Berenike and his children; also another at Aswân, and a great pylon at Karnak was added by him; but his chief work was at Edfu. This great temple was founded by him in 236 B.C., and was not completed until the time of Ptolemy XIII., 58 B.C. It remains to this day the most complete specimen of an Egyptian temple, for although built by an alien ruler, Euergetes I., like all his race, was thoroughly Egyptianised, and though Ptolemaic work is not considered so pure, it adheres very closely to the forms and traditions of ancient art.

Euergetes died a natural death in 221 B.C., at 63 years of age, having had a most fortunate and prosperous reign of 25 years.

PTOLEMY IV. PHILOPATER (222–205 B.C.).

Ptolemy IV., called Philopater, or "Loving his Father,"—a most inappropriate name,—was about 22 or 24 years old when he began to reign. In temperament he was a great contrast to his father, the clever Euergetes, being slothful and self-indulgent. The principal writers of his history, Polybius and Strabo, gave Philopater a very bad character, even accusing him of poisoning his father; but others think many of the wicked deeds ascribed to him were either done or instigated by Sosibius, his chancellor. His reign began very badly, as he caused the murder of all his relatives who might be troublesome to him, beginning with his mother Berenike, his brother Magas, and his uncle Lysimachus. Cleomenes the Spartan, who had taken refuge in Egypt during the time of the former Ptolemy, was treated with great contempt and cruelty by Sosibius, who imprisoned him in a palace with twelve other Spartan nobles. They all managed to escape, and tried to excite the populace against Sosibius, boldly parading the streets and calling for help. But seeing that the people, fearing the displeasure of the king, would not come to their assistance, these brave men determined to kill each other, rather than bear such tyranny any longer. Panteus, who was the last to die, when he came to the body of Cleomenes, wept and threw himself upon his own sword, falling dead upon his friend. They were all true Spartans, full of vigour and extraordinary courage.

A short time after these terible events, Antiochus III., king of Syria, began a war against Philopater, and took Seleukia on the Orontes, a strong fortress, which had been an Egyptian possession ever since it was taken by Euergetes in 246 B.C.

The army raised to oppose Antiochus was composed of troops from many nations, Greeks, Macedonians, Thracians, and others, each under their own generals, Nicolaus being commander-in-chief.

Sosibius conducted the affair from Memphis, where he lived, and tried to negotiate a peace and to settle by diplomacy the possession of some Syrian towns, but was unsuccessful. At the same time supplies were sent in large quantities to Gaza. In 217 B.C., after having spent the winter in Ptolemais, and preparations being complete, the fleet, consisting of 30 war-ships and 4000 transports, under the command of the admiral Perigenes, anchored near the land forces, in order to support Nicolaus. Philopater made an advance in the spring with from 50,000 to 70,000 men against Antiochus, who had 68,000, and they halted within 5 stadia of each other, at Raphia, the frontier town, near Gaza, on the road to Egypt. Being so near each other, small skirmishes often took place before the great battle was fought.

Theodotus, one of Philopater's generals, turned traitor, joined the enemy, and tried to take the life of the king by entering his tent unnoticed, as if he were one of the mercenary soldiers. But his plot failed, because he had not ascertained exactly the tent in which Philopater slept, and by mistake went into the one he occupied for transacting business during the day. Philopater was accompanied during this campaign by his sister Arsinoë, who, though quite young, showed great courage and bravery; she rode with her brother along the lines, and addressed the troops in stirring words, reminding them of the successes of the army and of their victorious ancestors, and inspiring them to hope for a great victory. Arsinoë took up her position on the left flank, and the battle began with a charge of elephants. Antiochus had Indian, and Philopater Libyan elephants; which latter had been brought to Egypt from the far south by expeditions sent out for the purpose by Euergetes and Philadelphus. We do not hear of war-elephants before this time.

The elephants carried howdahs on their backs, the men in them being armed with long pikes and spears, with which they attacked. The animals fought also, rushing at each other, twisting their trunks and tusks together, and pushing with all their mighty force. In this case the Indian proved so much more powerful than the Libyan elephants, that the latter refused to face them, and the whole left wing of Philopater's army gave way, giving Antiochus for the moment the best of the battle. Just at this juncture, however, the native Egyptian phalanx,

with the king at its head, making a forward movement in the centre, turned the fortunes of the day; the army of Antiochus was finally routed, and fled in full retreat to Raphia. The losses on both sides were enormous, but the victory was so complete that this one great battle ended the war. Philopater entered several cities in Syria, where triumphal crowns and garlands were presented to him by the inhabitants. He also visited Jerusalem, and tried to penetrate into the Holy of Holies in the Temple, which attempt so enraged the Jews that they would have killed him, had it not been that as he was about to enter he was seized with a fit, and thus was prevented from carrying out his sacrilegious purpose. This incident made him very bitter against the Jews, over whom he tried to tyrannise in every way.

Philopater was at this time entirely governed by his minister Agathocles, and Agathoclea, sister of the latter, who ruled both the king and the country, flattering his indolence and vanity. Agathocles wrote a commentary on a play called "Adonis" written by the king, who, in a feeble way, tried to encourage learning as his predecessors had done, and built a temple in honour of Homer. He also enlarged the temple at Edfu, which his father had founded, and we find in the historical text on the Great Wall that the building was carried on steadily till the last days of his life. The beautiful temple of Dêr el Medîneh was rebuilt by him, and completed by his successors. His cartouche is found at Aswân, Luxor, and at Dakkeh, which temple was partly his work and partly that of Ergamenes, king of Ethiopia and part of Nubia. The Ethiopians revolted about this time, but the rising ended in a treaty, by which they were permitted to worship at the shrine of Isis at Philæ; and the names of both kings appear together on the walls of a small temple newly discovered there by Captain Lyons. Inscriptions bearing the name of Philopater are found as far north as the islands of Lesbos and Sestos in the Ægean Sea. He must have given some attention to foreign affairs, as he helped the Rhodians in a war against Macedon, and contributed large sums of money to assist in repairing the damage done by the earthquake in Rhodes, which took place in his father's time. He sent a quantity of corn to Rome when the city needed it during Hannibal's campaign. Several generous deeds are attributed to him, and perhaps further discoveries will bring to light others to add lustre to his reign, such as these recorded in the writings of Ptolemy of Megalopolis.

Kallixenos of Rhodes describes the very large ships constructed for Philopater, the dimensions of which seem so exaggerated that they can hardly be believed. One is said to

have measured 280 cubits long, 38 wide, 48 high to the taffrail, and to have 40 banks of oars. Another ship is described as resembling a whole suite of rooms, fitted with gold and ivory and precious woods, like a house "that was built to sail on the river." It must have been in the form of a modern dahabiyeh, and to lounge in this floating palace seems a very suitable amusement for this lazy and luxurious king. Philopater married Arsinoë after the battle of Raphia, and in the year 210 B.C. she had a son, who was only 5 years old when his father died, 205 B.C. Through the treachery of Agathocles and the jealousy of his sister Agathoclea, Queen Arsinoë was secretly murdered by Philammon, a Greek, but the exact date is unknown. It appears that the fact was concealed until the king's death, and it was never ascertained whether the cruel deed was performed in Egypt or Cyrene, where it was supposed she had gone. Agathoclea took charge of the young prince, and Agathocles placed funeral urns in a mortuary temple, feigning sorrow at the death of the king; he also made an oration to the Macedonian guards, but they did not believe him. He tried to leave the palace, but the guards rushed to it, burst in the doors, seized the young prince, put him on a horse and conducted him through the streets to the Stadium, where he was greeted with shouts of applause by the multitude, who plainly showed their adherence to him and their loyalty to his father. They then placed him on the "Royal Stall" and proclaimed him king. The mob was in a state of fury, crying out to be allowed to avenge the death of Arsinoë and punish the wicked Agathocles and Agathoclea. Sosibius, the son of the old chancellor, who was taking care of the king and leading his horse, began to notice that the poor little boy was very tired and terribly frightened by the noise and the angry eyes of the people, and asked him if he would "surrender to the populace those who had injured him and his mother?" The boy nodded assent. Sosibius at once led the king to his own house, which was near. At the same time one of the Macedonian guards called out to the crowd that they might "wreak their vengeance" on the wicked brother and sister, and on all who had helped them in their evil deeds. They were accordingly brought out from their houses, dragged into the streets and killed, the populace stoning and striking them till they were dead. Fortunately, Philammon, the real murderer of Arsinoë, was among the number of those killed.

The reign of Ptolemy Philopater, which lasted 17 years, was not so brilliant as those of his predecessors, yet many events of importance and interest took place, as we have seen.

PTOLEMY V. EPIPHANES (205–182 B.C.).

Ptolemy V. succeeded his father Philopater, 205 B.C., at the age of 5 years, under the guardianship of Sosibius and Aristomenes. Tlepolemos became the chief Minister of War, and did much for the young king. Polybius says of him that "he was a great general, a man of high ability, great courage, and extremely well fitted to deal personally with soldiers"; but he was incapable of managing financial affairs, and wasted the greater part of the revenue in reckless expenditure. He encouraged the king in all athletic exercises and sports; and at an early age, we are told, the king, while on horseback, killed a wild bull. Taking advantage of the state of Egypt at this time, the kings of Macedonia and Syria made an attack upon some of the Egyptian possessions in Syria, and there was a sea-fight at Khios, in which Philip of Macedon was victorious, though suffering considerable loss, and a battle at Panion, 198 B.C., on the Jordan, where Antiochus king of Syria defeated Skopas, the Egyptian general. Antiochus also won back most of the towns of Phœnicia and Palestine, which the Ptolemies had held in peaceful possession for more than 100 years. Philip of Macedon also gained other cities in the Hellespont which had belonged to Egypt. At last, through negotiations with Rome, Philip and Antiochus, the conquerors, were obliged to give back to Egypt some of the cities they had taken.

The young king was under the immediate care and tutelage of Aristomenes, who seems to have done his best to educate him well, and had immense influence over him. He thought the best policy was to ask the Republic of Rome to take the boy under its protection, and to assist him to arrange an alliance between Epiphanes, who was then (198 B.C.) 12 years old, and Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus III. In 200 B.C., internal insurrections had threatened, in which Skopas, the general, took a principal part. Aristomenes discovered the leader sending soldiers to surround his house, and telling him that he must appear before the king. Skopas, finding that resistance would be useless, quietly submitted, and was taken to the council chamber. On the charges brought against him, he was condemned and sent to prison, and he and his family were poisoned the same night.

The famous Rosetta Stone[1] contains an eulogy and an account of the king's accession to the throne in 196 B.C., in the 14th year of his age and the 9th of his reign. This description of the coronation of the king seems to have been the

[1] See page 88.

third ceremony of the kind he had gone through: first, he was proclaimed by Agathocles, who wished to rule as his regent; again, probably on the death of Agathocles, when he was presented to the people and proclaimed in the Stadium; and now, having attained the age at which he was considered responsible as a ruler by the priests, he was admitted by them "to the mysteries of Ptah," and crowned king at Memphis. Aristomenes had managed affairs wisely at home; everything seemed hopeful, with a good prospect for a peaceful and happy reign; so the king's marriage to Cleopatra, to whom he had been betrothed 5 years before, took place in 193 B.C. Her father Antiochus conducted her with great pomp to Raphia, where the event was celebrated. She brought with her a large fortune, consisting of the taxes of Cœle-Syria, which were assigned to her yearly, the payment of which caused much trouble in the future. Cleopatra I., who is said to have been a noble and prudent woman, assisted the king in all his undertakings, and tried to extend Egyptian influence throughout their possessions.

Epiphanes had no more foreign wars, but he had many disturbances within his own dominions. Wishing to continue his friendship with Rome, he sent, in 191 B.C., a present of 1000 lb. in gold and 20,000 lb. in silver, and an offer of troops to help the Romans in a war in which they were engaged with Philip of Macedon, with the Ætolians and Antiochus the Great; but they declined his offer.

The so-called "friends" of Ptolemy V., especially Polycrates, now began to exercise a very evil influence over him, and persuaded him to get rid of his kind guardian and wise counsellor, Aristomenes; at last the king yielded, and ordered him to be poisoned. From this time Epiphanes' character seems to have quite changed; he became much more tyrannical and cruel. The old nobility of the country, to whom in the very early years of his reign he had looked for support, became discontented and jealous of the "grasping and greed of the Greeks." Epiphanes treated them with great indignity, and his tyranny becoming more than they could bear, they conspired together to take his life, and he was poisoned by their order in the 29th year of his age and the 24th of his reign, 182 B.C.

On the walls of the temple at Edfu the text explains the revolution in Upper Egypt, under Ergamenes king of Ethiopia, and states that though it began in the 16th year of the reign of Philopater, it was not ended until the 19th year of Epiphanes, when it was entirely crushed. There are very few other inscriptions concerning him, but several papyri exist mentioning events in his reign. At Philæ there is an inscription naming Epiphanes

and his son Ŷmhetep, and his wife Cleopatra I., and another on a stela now in the Museum at Gizeh. Coins of Ptolemy Epiphanes are very rare indeed, though we know they were struck in gold, silver, and copper.

PTOLEMY VI. EUPATOR (182 B.C.).

There has been much doubt as to who was the successor to the throne after the death of Epiphanes. The reign appears to have been a very short one, and there are but few records of it left. Eupator is named in a list of Ptolemies as following Epiphanes, and some recent discoveries prove that he came to the throne in 182 B.C. He is supposed to have been the eldest son of Ptolemy Epiphanes. There are some hieroglyphic inscriptions translated by Lepsius, and some later Greek ones by Grenfell, which leave no doubt as to his having reigned with his father for a short time. In earlier histories his name did not appear, and the following king was called Ptolemy VI.

He was left under the guardianship of his mother Cleopatra I., who assumed the title of queen, and managed the kingdom prudently for her son until his death, which probably occurred in the same year as his accession, although it is doubtful if he really had any independent reign, when the brother of Eupator was proclaimed king.

PTOLEMY VII. PHILOMETER (182 B.C.).

Ptolemy Philometer, or "Loving his Mother," was the second son of Epiphanes, and he came to the throne when only 6 years old. His mother, Queen Cleopatra I., continued to direct the affairs of the country for him, and tried to keep up her Syrian influence, from whence she derived her income. All was going on peacefully, when unfortunately she died, 173 B.C., leaving her son in charge of two of her household, Eulæos and Lenæus. Just at this time, Antiochus IV., uncle of Philometer, who had been a prisoner in Rome, was restored to his kingdom of Syria, and thought, as his nephew was so young, it would be a good time to invade Egypt. He began asserting his power through Judæa, and by conciliating the people tried to establish his ascendancy, while all the time he was advancing quietly upon Egypt. He encountered the army of Philometer between Mount Cassius and Pelusium, and an engagement ensued, in which he was completely victorious, and marched direct to Memphis, where he proclaimed himself king. Meantime Physkon, a third son of Epiphanes, who was now 15 years old, and his sister

Cleopatra, who were living at Alexandria, proclaimed themselves king and queen. This was a difficult position for Antiochus, who went to Alexandria to depose them, pretending that he wanted to restore Philometer to the throne. He besieged the city for some time, and the inhabitants suffered much from want of provisions; but the siege was raised by command of the Romans, who were the allies of the Egyptians, and he was obliged to restore Philometer to his kingdom.

The Romans ordered Antiochus to return to his own country, leaving a garrison at Pelusium; they then called a council to settle whether they should go to war with him or not. While the council was sitting, a letter was brought in from the Roman Senate, urging the reconciliation of the two kings. Antiochus was already marching with a second army to Eleusis, near Alexandria, and was there met by an envoy offering terms. Antiochus replied that he would consult his friends, whereupon Popilius, the envoy, advanced and drew a circle with a stick on the ground round the king, and said "he should not move out of it until he had given his decision." He was so taken aback by this strange act, that he said he would do as the Romans directed, and they obliged him to return into Syria with his whole army. Thus the Romans again saved Egypt.

Philometer came to terms with his brother, and in the 10th year of his reign married his sister Cleopatra II.

It is told by Polybius how Dionysius, an unscrupulous man, taking advantage of the youth of the kings, and wishing to take their place, circulated a report that the elder Ptolemy wished to kill the younger; but when Philometer heard of this accusation, he sent for his brother, and they appeared together at the palace, dressed in their royal robes, and publicly showed themselves to the assembled crowd, which proved them to be in perfect harmony with each other. Dionysius consequently was in fear of his life, and left Alexandria. He managed to raise an army of about 4000 of the roughest soldiers, and with these attacked the king's troops near Eleusis, where he was defeated, and only escaped by swimming the river.

A short time after this a revolt broke out in the province of Thebes, and Philometer advanced against the rebels as far as Panopolis, and after a siege took the place, and sent the prisoners to Alexandria. While Philometer was absent in Upper Egypt, his brother Physkon, or Euergetes, as he was afterwards called, began to plot against him, and quarrels were of frequent recurrence; but though Philometer always kindly forgave his brother, in the end Euergetes succeeded in driving Philometer from the country. He left in a miserable plight, and, having

crossed the sea in a small ship, proceeded on foot to Rome. When Demetrius Soter, son of the king of Syria, who was at that time in Rome, heard he was coming, he sent an escort, taking with them royal robes and a crown; but Philometer declined to accept these honours, and lodged in a poor house with an Alexandrian painter. The Roman Senate met and consulted as to what should be done, and their decision was not altogether agreeable to Philometer, as it was decided that he should give up Cyrene to his brother, and send him yearly a large quantity of corn. This also displeased the younger Ptolemy, Euergetes, as he said it was not giving him an equal share, so the Senate sent Titus Torquatus to arrange that he should have Cyprus also, and tried to reconcile the brothers. His diplomacy succeeded, as Philometer again pardoned his brother, 154 B.C., and though he did not give up Cyprus to him, he allowed him his yearly tribute of corn, and also to retain Cyrene, where he lived, hated and feared, as he was a cruel and bad king.

Both Josephus and the Books of the Maccabees, in their histories of this time, relate that Philometer brought the Jews into prominent positions, and that members of that nation held high offices of state under him. Onias, the high priest, was allowed to build a temple for the Jewish worship at Leontopolis, near Heliopolis, called "Agria Bubastis." This did not serve to make the Jews more popular, as, except by the king, they were not liked, and are but little mentioned on the papyri written at this time.

Demetrius Soter of Syria was a cruel and wicked king; he was so hated by his subjects that Philometer interfered, and supported Alexander Bala, who was also assisted by Rome, to take the throne from Demetrius. In a battle which ensued, Demetrius was killed, and, finding Bala was the undisputed king of Syria, Philometer gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage at Ptolemais, in the year 150 B.C. The Jewish high priest Jonathan was invited to the wedding, and greeted with great distinction by Philometer, who dressed him in purple, and gave him a place of honour. But this amicable state of things unfortunately did not last, as Bala was constantly at war with the Jewish governors throughout the country. Then Demetrius Nicator, the son of Demetrius Soter, set up his claim to the throne of Syria, and was supported by Philometer.

A conspiracy, too, to kill the king was discovered, and he asked Bala to punish the accomplices, but the latter refusing to do so, Philometer felt assured that he was the originator of the

plot. This so enraged him that he took his daughter Cleopatra away from Bala.

The king and his army next went to Antioch, where the people received him with acclamation, and crowned him with two diadems, signifying Egypt and Syria. But he did not wish to remain king, and persuaded the people to accept Demetrius Nicator, the son of their late sovereign, in the place of Bala, promising to guide his actions and give him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage. Alexander Bala hearing of this, raised a force and came to Syria; but he was entirely defeated, and during his flight to Arabia for refuge he was taken by Zabdiel, an Arabian chief, who cut off his head and sent it to Philometer. Unfortunately, during the battle, Philometer had been thrown from his horse, which was frightened by the trump of an elephant, and had also received a wound in the head, and was unconscious for 4 days; but he just lived to see the decapitated head of Alexander Bala, and died in the 41st year of his age and the 34th of his reign, in the year 146 B.C.

Polybius gives a good description of his character: "He was magnanimous and kind-hearted, mild and benevolent." He certainly deserves much praise, though in later life he became indolent and effeminate, as was the case with most of the Ptolemies. He had a very handsome face, if we may judge from the colossal head found in the sea at Methana in Argolis. It wears the head-dress of the period, and has an inscription in hieroglyphs at the back. The coin of his coronation as king of Syria confirms this likeness, and he appears to have been the most refined of his race.

No building has been found in Lower Egypt bearing the name of Philometer, but there are many in Upper Egypt and Nubia, in some cases with the names of the two brothers, also with those of his wife and son, Philopater Neos. On an oblong granite altar found in the island of El Hesseh, above Philæ,[1] was this inscription:

"King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra, Gods Philometores, and Ptolemy their son, Isis and Horus."

The temples at Antæopolis, Diospolis Parva, Karnak, Esneh, Kom Ombo, Dabod, and Edfu were enriched by him.

PTOLEMY VIII. PHILOPATER II. (146 B.C.).

There is scarcely any fact known relating to this reign; but it appears certain that Cleopatra II. had a son who was named Philopater Neos, whom she endeavoured to maintain upon the

[1] February 1895.

throne after the death of her husband Philometer. In this she was supported by Onias and the Jewish party, but the Romans insisted upon the enthronement of Euergetes, king of Cyrene and brother of Philometer. No doubt Neos was a dangerous rival, and Euergetes feared to ascend the throne during his life, for his name being associated with that of his father and mother on the altar found at El Hesseh showed that he had an undoubted claim to the succession. So he was set aside, though his existence continued to be a menace to Euergetes.

PTOLEMY IX. EUERGETES II. PHYSKON (146 B.C.).

Euergetes, as has already been stated, was the son of Epiphanes, and brother of Philometer, with whom he had reigned 25 years in all, beginning in the 12th year of Philometer, first with his sister Cleopatra, then with his brother at Alexandria, next as king of Cyrene, where he was placed by the Romans, who reinstated him on the throne of Egypt in the year 146 B.C.

Historians differ as to this king—some giving him the worst of characters, and others the reverse. A papyrus has lately been found in the Fayûm by Grenfell and Hunt, stating that Euergetes was a great and clever ruler, and made excellent laws for his people. Strabo states that he was the worst of all the Ptolemies; and Justin, that he was terribly cruel and wicked. Soon after his accession he married the widow of Philometer, his sister Cleopatra II., as it was considered right for the kingdom that he should do so, she also hoping by marriage with the king to establish the right of her son Philopater Neos as heir to the throne; but Euergetes had him murdered, some say at his wedding banquet.

The first trouble in his reign began in Cyrene, the people of which resented his rule, and raised a rebellion, which he crushed by a great massacre, earning for himself the name of Kakergetes, or "Evil Doer."

The inhabitants of Alexandria had divided themselves into three distinct classes, according to Polybius: "The Egyptian and native race, smart and civilised"; "the mercenary troops, oppressive, numerous, and dissolute"; and "the Alexandrians, a mixed community of nations, principally Greeks." Whenever disturbances occurred among them, they were put down by Euergetes, who turned his troops loose upon the people. These events often took place, and great loss of life followed, so that the number of inhabitants was greatly reduced by massacre.

A.M.C.

Obelisk at Kingston Lacy, Dorset. brought from Philae by W. Banks Esq. in 1815.

The Court resided a good deal at Memphis, and here Cleopatra had a son, named Memphites, who at the age of 14 (130 B.C.) was secretly taken by his father to Cyprus and there murdered. There is little doubt but that the king went to Cyprus to escape from the rage of the Alexandrians in consequence of the massacres, and when they found he had gone away they immediately placed Queen Cleopatra II., his wife, on the throne. She was wild with grief and anger at the death of her son, and asked Demetrius Nicator, king of Syria, to help her to keep the position she now occupied in Egypt; but Euergetes, by setting up Alexander Zabinas, son of Alexander Bala, as a claimant to the throne, against Demetrius, caused a civil war, which concentrated all the troops in Syria.

Euergetes also married his niece, daughter of Philometer, Cleopatra III., and these two queens, having the same name at the same time, caused great confusion in official documents, and it is nearly impossible to distinguish between them. Some papyri are dated "In the reign of King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra his sister, and Queen Cleopatra his wife"; they often appear as reigning with Euergetes separately and together, and portraits of both are seen on the monuments, the most perfect of these being in the temple of Kom Ombo.

The name of Euergetes as a builder and restorer of temples is the best known of all the Ptolemies, though, as in the case of Philometer, it has not been found in Lower Egypt or at Memphis. At Karnak there is a beautiful doorway on which the names of both brothers are inscribed, and at Dêr el Medîneh he restored a temple. At Medinet Habu he built a small one, which is very perfect, having a fine portrait of himself standing between two goddesses. He erected a beautiful colonnade at Philæ, and at El Kab and other places there are numerous specimens of his work, but his principal undertaking was the continuation of Edfu, on the walls of which is the following account: "The completing of the inscription carved upon the stone, with the adorning of the walls with gold and colours, with the carpentry of the doors, with the makings of the door lintels with good bronze, with the door-post blocks, and the laying of gold plates on the doors, with the completing of the inner temple house, lasted till the 18th of Mesore in the 28th year of the deceased king Ptolemy Euergetes II. and his wife the Regent Cleopatra; in all, 95 years, from the ceremony of the first hammer stroke to the feast of the formal entrance procession, the feast of the dedication by His Majesty, to His Divine Lord Horus of Edfu, the great Techu feast, the like of which has not been seen from the creation of the world to this

day." "At the close of his life, in the year 54 of this king, on the 11th of Payni, was laid the foundation of the great circuit wall and the pylons of the entrance." "As they were busy with this foundation, the king died, and his eldest son succeeded to the throne."

It was at this time that Scipio Africanus came from Rome with an embassy to survey the country. Euergetes received them with great magnificence, and entertained them with royal feasts; but they despised all these luxuries, saying "they were injurious to mind and body," preferring the plainest food. They paid no attention to the things the king thought splendid, "but were most diligent in studying what was really worth seeing, and were satisfied that the country was admirably suited for a great and safe Empire." But they did not obtain any concessions from Euergetes, and Scipio laughingly said "the only good thing the visit had done was to oblige the fat king to take a walk." The name "Physkon" was given him because of his great size.

The Jews had long been settled in Egypt, and numbers who had been driven out of Palestine by the persecution of Antiochus IV., came to Egypt and lived in the land of Goshen. They were protected and favoured by Euergetes, as they had been by Philometer. There have been many writings found referring to them which serve to throw light on their condition. One at Karnak, on an ostrakon, states that Simon son of Eleazar was a tax-gatherer. A letter on papyrus from a man to his brother relates that he had bought a mare from a Jew called Danul — "The latter has neither delivered the animal nor given the money for its journey to the new owner."

The translator of the Book of Ecclesiasticus, who came to Egypt in the 38th year of this reign, found many books translated into Greek for the Hellenistic Jews, and mentions the Septuagint among others. It is supposed that the Sibylline Oracles belong to this period.

Euergetes was not molested by any great foreign wars; Syria was fighting for its own crown, and Rome was too busy with other nations to attend to Egypt, so that the country was in a prosperous state. The government was carefully attended to; there were courts of justice where disputes were settled, and cases worked out with a clearness and fairness which could not be surpassed in the present day, and where the judges and counsel included Greeks as well as native Egyptians.[1]

An important addition to the knowledge of the internal

[1] See page 317, *Egypt of To-day.*

state of the country during this reign has recently been afforded by the discovery of a papyrus containing a series of decrees issued by Euergetes II. and the two Cleopatras. They contain various remissions of penalties, and proclamations of amnesties, with prohibitions and reforms relating to the treatment of the people by officials and the securing the rights of the tax-payers against any fraud. The nice adjustment of the status of both Greeks and native Egyptians, and the fairness with which it was evidently the king's wish that all should be treated, are further confutations of the tradition of his having been such a thoroughly unscrupulous ruler.

It is very curious to find how Egyptians added Greek names to their own, and gave Greek names to their gods; and the Greeks took Egyptian names, while both languages were taught in the schools. It is evident that the king and both queens took much interest in the education of their children, as they set up in the island of Kos a gilded statue with a golden crown to the tutor of their sons and daughters. There were a great many learned professors still in the Museum at Alexandria, though we hear of the king sending several philosophers, musicians, and artists to the Islands, where they gave lessons and spread learning in distant parts of the world. Euergetes II. wrote a book giving an account of his early adventures and expeditions into the far east, and describes the various antiquities of the Greek islands. An officer was sent to the peninsula of Sinai to collect precious stones, turquoises and emeralds, and conveyed them to Egypt by caravans, which also brought spices to Koptos by the way of Berenike, on the Red Sea.

Ptolemy Apion, one of the king's sons, had been appointed governor in Cyrene, and managed those turbulent people so well that he remained there peaceably until his death in 97 B.C.

The reign of Ptolemy Euergetes had been a very remarkable one, caused by important events within and without the kingdom of Egypt, for though not actively engaged in any great wars, he had exerted influence over the affairs of other nations, and the two wonderful queens who shared his throne added further interest to the history of this age. Euergetes died at the age of 65, in the year 117 B.C. A very beautiful comet was seen during his reign.

PTOLEMY X. SOTER II. LATHYROS (117 B.C.). PTOLEMY XI. PTOLEMY-ALEXANDER I.

Ptolemy Soter II., called Lathyros, being the eldest son of Euergetes Physkon, was next in succession, but it appears

that Cleopatra III., his mother, retained the government and entire control of the country. She wished to have her younger son Alexander to reign with her; but the people of Alexandria would not allow it, and insisted upon having Lathyros as king. Cleopatra assented, with the compromise that he should get rid of his wife Cleopatra IV., and marry his other sister Selene, not wishing that there should again be two rival queens of the same name. Alexander was sent to Cyprus, where he was made king, in the 3rd year of Cleopatra's reign, 114 B.C.

There is an inscription of the 2nd year of this Soter's reign found in Aswân, now in the British Museum, stating that the young king visited Elephantine and placed Phommous as local governor, to whom he granted some reduction of taxes, and certain privileges to the priests of the Cataract.

Lathyros assisted Antiochus Cyzicenus to repel the attack of the Maccabean king Hyrcanus, who was at that time besieging Samaria; he was unsuccessful, and Samaria fell. Again he tried to get possession of Syria, which was in a terrible state from the effects of the civil war then raging between Antiochus and Jannæus, the Maccabean leader. Jannæus pretended to be friendly to Lathyros, but this was only to gain time in order to summon Cleopatra III. with an army, and her son Alexander with a fleet, to his aid. There was a great battle near the Jordan, and Jannæus was defeated by Lathyros before help reached him. Cleopatra was discouraged in her attempt to regain Syria by the fear of intervention from Rome. She took her daughter Selene from Lathyros and gave her to Antiochus Grypus, in order to keep up the dissensions in Syria. During these troublesome times she sent her grandchildren, her treasures, and her will to the island of Kos for safety.

It seems as if after Lathyros' failure in Syria he had gone into exile, probably to Cyprus, from whence Alexander, the favourite son of Cleopatra, had returned; for he began his reign in Egypt in the year 101 B.C. Alexander married Berenike III., supposed to have been a daughter of Euergetes II., about 100 B.C., as her name appears on the coins of that date. He did not remain very long at peace with his mother, the exact date of whose death is not known; but he was obliged to leave Egypt in 88 B.C., and Lathyros returned after 19 years' exile. The changeable Egyptians welcomed him gladly, and gave him this name, meaning "The Desired." Alexander was pursued by the Egyptian forces under Pyrrhus, who defeated him on the sea and drove him to Cyprus, where he was killed in

a naval battle off that coast, thus leaving Lathyros without a rival. About this time some disturbances arose in Upper Egypt, and Lathyros took up an army to subdue the people at Thebes, and besieged it for three years. He destroyed it utterly as a city, and scattered the population, so that it has ever since remained ruined and desolate. In the early part of his reign he had built a pylon, and in other ways beautified the buildings there.

In 87 B.C., Sylla, who was then Dictator, sent Lucullus to Egypt on behalf of Rome, to endeavour to obtain assistance from her eastern allies in the numerous wars in which the Republic was then engaged. On his way most of his ships were captured by pirates, but he himself arrived safely at Alexandria. He was received by Lathyros as a royal guest, and one of the palaces was lent to him to live in during his visit, and a large sum of money provided for his expenses. Besides showing him these attentions, Lathyros would not assist him, therefore Lucullus returned to Rome, only accepting a precious signet ring as a remembrance of his visit.

Lathyros died in 81 B.C. His life, on account of his family feuds and long exiles, must have been a very trying one, for he had an amiable, gentle disposition, which shrank from these perpetual frictions. His forbearance towards his despotic mother Cleopatra, in an age when cruelty and ambition knew no limits, is most remarkable, and his character forms a bright spot in these dark pages of history.

PTOLEMY XII. ALEXANDER II., BERENIKE III.

Lathyros was really succeeded in 81 B.C. by his daughter Berenike III., widow of Alexander I. She reigned alone for about 6 months, until Sylla, the Dictator of Rome, sent the young Alexander back to Egypt. Mithradates, king of Pontus, had discovered this prince in the island of Kos, and kept him there in royal state until he escaped to Rome. Upon his return to Alexandria after the death of Lathyros, he was compelled to marry Berenike, but his dislike to her was so great that he murdered her 19 days after their marriage. This terrible crime so enraged the people that he was killed by her household troops. They also seem to have had another grievance against the king, on account of his refusal to give them a large sum that had been promised to them.

He had deposited a considerable amount of money at Tyre, which was discovered by Sylla and taken to Rome. He is supposed by some historians to have been exiled to Tyre,

and to have lived there 15 years. By others he is said to have left his kingdom by will to Rome, but this is not at all likely.

PTOLEMY XIII. AULETES (81 B.C.).

Upon the deaths of Berenike III. and King Alexander II., Ptolemy Auletes, or "The Flute-player," who had been living in Syria, took possession of the throne of Egypt, but there were some doubts about his claim. Rome would not formally recognise him, but as he paid large sums of money in bribes to the Senate, he was left in peace. In the 3rd year of his reign he married Cleopatra V., Tryphæna, mother of Berenike IV., born in 77 B.C. Two sons of Selene, sister of Lathyros, and her husband Antiochus Grypus, went to Rome to assert their right to the crown of Egypt. They failed in doing so, and on their way home they were robbed by Verres, then governor of Sicily, of a present they had intended giving to the Senate if they had been successful in establishing their claim. The Romans tried to get all the money they could out of Egypt, and Julius Cæsar wished to have the country put under his charge; but this was not done. Auletes made a defensive alliance with Mithradates, king of Pontus, the enemy of Rome; but as he died shortly afterwards, he was never able to give Auletes any help.

The Egyptian people were quite willing to be under the guidance of Rome, and Pompey also tried to negotiate, but it was not until 59 B.C. that Julius Cæsar recognised Auletes as king of Egypt, upon the payment of large sums of money. The coinage of Egypt had become much debased at this time, and caused great dissatisfaction among the people. Whether for this or for some other cause, Auletes was banished from Egypt, and went to Rome.

Meanwhile the people set up Berenike IV. as queen. An embassy of inquiry was sent to Rome, and after much debating the Senate decided to send the king to live at Ephesus until matters were arranged. Cleopatra V. assumed the government for one year, and then died, upon which Berenike was once more acknowledged as queen. An inscription recently discovered near Erment mentions her as reigning alone. In 57 B.C. Berenike sent to Syria for one of the Seleucidæ princes, in order to make him her husband. He was, however, so ugly and disagreeable that the people of Alexandria gave him the name of Kybiosaktes, "The Pickled Fishmonger," and the queen disliked him so much that she strangled him, and chose Archelaus, high priest at Komana, instead. At Rome, Cicero made a speech in favour of the restoration of King

Auletes, and at the same time Pompey and Gabinius, governor of Syria, sent an armed force to Egypt to carry out this plan. Near Pelusium they attacked the Egyptian army both on land and river, and were completely victorious; Archelaus, the husband of the queen, being slain in the battle, with many Egyptian nobles. Gabinius at once recalled Auletes from his exile at Ephesus to return to the throne. His first act was to put his daughter Queen Berenike, and others who were her supporters, to death; this happened 55 B.C.

Diodorus Siculus,[1] who visited Egypt during the latter years of this reign, wrote about the state of the country. He relates that many of the people and priests understood both Greek and hieroglyphs, and that there were still students of learning in the Serapeum at Alexandria. It appears that the traditions of ancient Egypt were kept up, as he says "that if a man by accident, or deliberately, killed an ibis or a cat, he was instantly put to death; even a Roman citizen was not safe from their anger and violence." The population of Alexandria at this time was said to be 30,000, and the revenue 6000 talents. Diodorus states that the old religion still flourished in Egypt, and that the strange worship of beasts and devotion to the national gods was maintained at great expense by the priests. He also mentions the gold mines in Nubia, and describes the water-wheel,[2] still in use all over the country, which he says was invented by Archimedes. He tells us of the immense quantity of quail in the fields, and how they were caught in nets near the coast, as is still done; of the feeding of flocks of geese, and the use of Kiki oil for lamps—details proved to be true by the allusions to them discovered on the papyri. All law business was transacted in writing; the people objected to Greek music and gymnastics, as they said they were injurious to mind and body. The name of Ptolemy Auletes appears on the monuments of Upper Egypt, there being inscriptions at Philæ which date from the 2nd to the 8th year of his reign; all are dedications to Isis. He appears at Dakkeh and Kalabsheh also, on monuments near the Red Sea and on the coast of Ethiopia, which shows that the dominion of the Ptolemies extended far to the south.

Auletes in 58 B.C. completed the grand temple of Edfu, which had been commenced by Euergetes I., by putting his name and that of his queen, Cleopatra V., on the dedication stone. At Dendera, Kom Ombo, and even at Karnak, which had been so much destroyed by Lathyros, we find his cartouche. Although Auletes did good work in building and restoring

[1] See page 86. [2] See page 86.

temples and keeping on friendly terms with the priesthood, there is not much that is good to be said about him. The records that have come down to us show that he was worthless and tyrannical, idle and pleasure-seeking; but he evidently had a talent for music, as his nickname implies.

He died in 51 B.C., leaving two sons and one daughter, the celebrated Cleopatra, to whom he bequeathed his kingdom by will. He was so afraid that his will should be disputed, one copy was sent to Rome, and the other kept sealed in Egypt.

He was king for about 30 years, but from 58 to 55 B.C. he was in exile.

PTOLEMY XIV., PTOLEMY XV., AND CLEOPATRA VI. (51 B.C.).

The great and wonderful Queen Cleopatra succeeded her father Auletes when 16 years old, and her brother Ptolemy XIV. ruled with her, according to the will which Auletes had made. About 4 years afterwards, dissensions began, and the guardians of the young king tried to persuade him to depose his sister and claim the whole kingdom for himself, as he had then reached his 14th year. The persecutions Cleopatra had to endure were more than she could bear, so she went to Syria, as many of her predecessors had done, where within a few months she raised an army, and in 48 B.C. returned to claim her rightful possession of the throne, at the moment when Cæsar and Pompey were striving for the mastery at Rome. Pompey, who had to fly for his life after the battle of Pharsalia,[1] arrived in Egypt just as Cleopatra and her army met her brother Ptolemy and his forces at Pelusium.

Pompey sent a message on shore to ask for protection, and there was much discussion as to what should be done. At last Ptolemy's prime minister decided that he should be greeted with pretended civility, and murdered when he landed. By this cruel act, which they carried into execution, they hoped to gain favour with Cæsar; but as soon as he heard of the dastardly deed he came with all haste to Alexandria, for though he was Pompey's enemy, and would have killed him in battle, he was much displeased at the treachery of the Egyptians. When he landed, the head and signet ring of Pompey were handed to him, but he was so disgusted that he turned away in horror. Cæsar was not well received by the natives, his arrival causing a tumult in the town, many Roman soldiers being killed.

It was now decided that Cleopatra and Ptolemy should dismiss their armies and plead their cause personally before

[1] Modern name, Pihataldjo.

Cæsar. Cleopatra was then about 20 years of age, and celebrated for her marvellous beauty, fascination of manner, and for her musical voice, which was compared to a many-stringed instrument. She had a great knowledge of literature, a keen appreciation of beauty in art and nature, and lived in luxurious splendour and magnificence. Cleopatra had heard that the effect of her personal charms would have more weight with Cæsar than any argument, and accordingly "she prayed for an interview, and adorned herself in a garb most becoming and likely to arouse his pity." She is said to have been concealed in a bale of carpet for fear of enemies, and conveyed in secret into the palace. She so captivated Cæsar that he granted her requests, and she made an impression upon him which lasted all his life. Cæsar agreed with the chief minister in Egypt that Cleopatra and her brother should marry, as it was the established custom of the country. He appeared with them before the populace, and read aloud the will of their father, which as Dictator of Rome he was bound to see carried out. Achillas, an Egyptian general, tried to drive Cæsar out of the country, and came against him with 20,000 men. He blockaded Alexandria, and Cæsar was compelled to burn his ships and naval arsenal to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands.

Of the burning of the famous Library, which is said to have taken place at the same time, no single contemporary record exists. Yet Cicero was writing almost daily, and Cæsar himself was compiling his Commentaries. It was not until about 100 years afterwards that the first mention is made of such an event. This may be found in a rhetorical passage by Seneca. Whether this circumstance be true or not, the Library disappeared—a loss which is unparalleled in the literary history of the world.

There was much fighting between the troops of Cæsar and Achillas round Alexandria and in the Delta. The general Mithradates also coming from Syria round by Memphis to join Cæsar, met him on the Libyan side of the Nile, and in one of the skirmishes that took place the young Ptolemy was drowned. The Romans now attacked Alexandria, and the people, finding themselves hard pressed, surrendered. Cæsar, with his usual magnanimity, forgave the inhabitants, only leaving a garrison to protect the city, and caused the brother of the young king to be proclaimed as Ptolemy XV. along with his sister Cleopatra, whose nominal husband he now became. Three legions of soldiers were left under command of Rufinus, and Cæsar returned to Rome, taking Arsinoë, the youngest sister of Cleopatra, as a captive. In the great procession by which he celebrated his four great conquests, 46 B.C.,

when he led many captives of various nations through the streets, Arsinoë represented Egypt, and gained much pity from the multitude for the great beauty of her face and the meekness of her bearing as she passed along in chains. Cleopatra might have prevented this had she made a request to Cæsar, but she hated her sister so much that she allowed her to endure the indignity. Cleopatra had followed Cæsar to Rome, as she was afraid of losing her power over him. She lived in a palace on the Tiber, where she held a sort of court, until Julius Cæsar was so foully assassinated by his friend Brutus on the 15th of March 44 B.C.

After this event, which Cleopatra mourned sincerely, she left Rome and returned to Egypt, which she found in a state of famine. She arranged that allowances of foreign corn should be given to the people, which, however, the Jews were prohibited from sharing. A stela has been found at Thebes giving a full account of these benefits to her people. Cleopatra's brother and husband, the young Ptolemy XV., had died in Rome the same year as Cæsar, having reigned with Cleopatra for about 4 years. After the battle of Philippi, in which Octavian and Antony were victorious, and Brutus and Cassius were slain, a message was sent to the queen of Egypt from Antony to ask for an explanation of her conduct, and why her aid was given to Cassius? Antony also requested her to appear before him, begging her to fear nothing, as he was "the kindest and gentlest of soldiers." Cleopatra at once sailed to meet him at Tarsus in Cilicia, feeling sure that her personal explanation would soon appease his anger. Her landing is most graphically described by Plutarch: "She came sailing up the river Cydnus in a barge with gilded stern, and outspread sails of purple, while oars of silver beat time to the music of flutes, fifes, and harps. She lay under a canopy of cloth of gold, surrounded by the most beautiful ladies of her court. Soft and lovely music was played, and the odours of burning scents and perfumes were carried to the shore by the soft evening breeze." Antony invited her to land and take supper with him, but she, having prepared a feast on board her ship, begged him to come to her. He found the preparations to receive him magnificent beyond description; innumerable lights fantastically arranged made a spectacle unequalled for beauty. Next day she went to supper with Antony, when he jestingly apologised for his poverty of wit and rustic awkwardness in not being able to offer her a feast at all equal to hers. Antony became so much in love with her that he returned with her to Egypt, neglecting his wife, his country, and all his duties, and sacrificing his whole career for

her sake. Many amusing anecdotes are told of them, how they dressed up as peasants and went from house to house telling stories and making jokes with the people in this disguise. One day Antony went fishing, and was so annoyed at catching no fish while the queen was watching him, that he caused men to dive and put fish on his hook, which he pulled out of the water. Cleopatra finding this out, invited a large company of friends to come and see the fishing. She had arranged for a diver to fasten a salt fish on his hook, which he drew up, causing great merriment to all the spectators. Her ambition knew no bounds, and Antony gave her the title of "Queen of Queens."

After the departure of Antony, Cleopatra visited Herod the Great at Jerusalem, and was received with such magnificence as had not been witnessed there since the days when the queen of Sheba visited Solomon. Herod feared her power, and even wished to put her to death, but was dissuaded from doing so by his council; so he escorted her in safety through his dominions, made her many handsome presents, and sent her back to Egypt.

The first campaign Antony made against the Parthians was a failure, and because he was in want of food and clothes for his army, Cleopatra sailed with a great supply for him to Syria, and he returned with her to Egypt for the winter. His noble wife Octavia brought help to him from Rome as far as Athens, but Antony had already left for Egypt. The second attack, in 34 B.C., was more successful, and Antony was able to take Artabazus, king of Armenia, prisoner, and bring him back to appear in his triumphal entry into Alexandria. The preference shown to this city gave great offence to the people of Rome.

Augustus Cæsar, Octavian, also made war against Cleopatra, and attacked her fleet in the gulf of Arta, near Actium, in Greece. She commanded her fleet in person, but when she thought the battle would go against her and that there was no hope of victory, she quickly withdrew her ships and sailed for Alexandria. Augustus was unable to follow, as both wind and wave favoured Cleopatra's flight; but at the entrance to the harbour she pretended she had been successful, hoisting flags and banners, and showing every sign of victory.

After the battle of Actium, by which Augustus became master of the Mediterranean, Cleopatra wished to send some ships to the Red Sea, and finding the canal of Philadelphus no longer passable, she tried to have them conveyed across the Desert, but the first galleys that were carried over were burnt by the Arabians of Petra. She had sent away her son

Cæsarion, now 17 years old, to Berenike on the Red Sea, for safety, but the tutor under whose care he was brought him back, and Augustus cruelly put Cæsarion to death.

Cleopatra had several children, but not much is known of any of them. Among them were twins, to whom she gave the names of Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene, meaning Sun and Moon. Cleopatra now found that Antony's cause was lost, and fearing that she might fall into the power of Augustus, rather than face such a calamity she first tried by bribes to curry favour with him, and then, finding that as her fascination and beauty were waning, she could make no impression on his cold, stern nature, she prepared to die.

Cleopatra shut herself up in a mausoleum she had built outside Alexandria, where she had collected her treasures, and sent a messenger to Antony to say that she was dead. His grief was so great that he desired a slave to kill him with a dagger, but the faithful slave would not do this, and instead plunged the dagger into his own heart, and died. Antony then seized the weapon and stabbed himself. Just then an officer of the queen's guard rushed in to say that she was not dead, so he at once caused himself to be carried to the tower where she had taken refuge. Cleopatra feared to open her gates, but ordered that he should be drawn up into her presence by cords through the window. She carefully attended to his wound, but unfortunately it was too late, and he died. Cleopatra was allowed by Augustus to bury him with great magnificence. Soon after she asked for an interview with Augustus, when she begged to be allowed to visit the tomb of Antony, and for forgiveness for her hostility to Rome, at the same time presenting him with a list of her treasures. Augustus acceded to her first request, but would not forgive her, intending to take her as a captive to Rome. On her return from her visit to the tomb she wrote a letter to Augustus Cæsar, with pathetic entreaties to be buried beside Antony. This aroused the suspicions of Augustus, and he sent messengers at full speed to Cleopatra's hiding-place; but they were too late. According to the story told by Plutarch, she was found dead, lying upon a bed of gold, dressed in all her royal ornaments. "Iris, one of her women, lay dying at her feet, and Charmion, just ready to fall, scarce able to hold up her head, was adjusting her mistress's diadem, when one that came in said, 'Was this well done of your lady, Charmion?' 'Perfectly well,' she answered, 'and as became the daughter of so many kings.' And as she said this, she too fell down dead by the bedside."

The story always told of the manner in which she accom-

plished her death is that she had ordered a basket of figs, in which she had commanded a peasant woman to conceal a venomous snake. Taking this in her hand, she caused it to bite her, and the poison from its fatal sting soon spread through her blood, and she died at the age of 39, in 30 B.C., after an eventful reign of 22 years.

One of the most perfect buildings now standing in Egypt is the temple of Dendera; it must have been commenced by Cleopatra, as no older names occur than those of Cleopatra and Ptolemy Cæsar, which are inscribed in cartouches on the walls beside their portraits, he as a youth and his mother as a conventional Egyptian figure. This cannot have been a likeness from life, as she was not an Egyptian, but a pure Macedonian, whose features resemble the Greeks in refinement, as also the colouring of her skin, which must have been fair.

There are not many inscriptions of her date left in Egypt. The portrait upon her coins represents an intellectual rather than a beautiful face. Plutarch says: "It was not in peerless beauty that her fascination lay, but in the combination of more than average beauty with many other personal attractions."

With her ended the powerful Dynasty of the Ptolemies in Egypt, which from this time became a province of the newly founded Roman Empire. The whole period of their rule, from Soter to Cleopatra, was 294 years.

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CHAPTER VII

THE ROMAN PERIOD

"For, look the wide world over, where ends Rome?
To sunrise? There's Euphrates—all between!
To sunset? Ocean and immensity:
North,—stare till Danube stops you: South—see Nile,
The desert and the earth-upholding Mount."
BROWNING: *Imperante Augusto natus est*——

ON the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra, the kingdom of Egypt was added to the Roman Empire under AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, 30 B.C. The young Ptolemy was put to death by his command, and Cleopatra's daughter, Cleopatra Selene, was taken care of after her mother's death by Octavia, Antony's divorced wife. She married Juba II., king of Mauritania, and had a son called Ptolemy, but he was put to death by the Emperor Caligula, and thus ended the line of the great Ptolemies.

The Roman province of Egypt extended from Lake Serbonis on the east, on the confines of Syria, to Cleopatris, or the modern Suez, down the Red Sea to Berenike, across the Desert and up the Nile as far as Syene, or Aswân. It included the two great Oases, Dakhel in the Libyan Desert, and Jupiter Amen, or Siwah, much farther north. The western boundary was the Cyrenaic province, and the Libyan Desert as far as Lake Mareotis.

Augustus placed the country under the control of a prefect, or governor, who was always a Roman knight, whose duties were to travel through the land, hear appeals, settle disputes, collect revenues, control the troops, check exactions, and make official returns. He was assisted by subordinates in various positions, but was himself only responsible to the emperor, who could remove him at will. Under him there were, after the first century A.D., three chief officers, one for each of the three main divisions of the country, which roughly corresponded with the modern Lower, Middle, and Upper Egypt. These were again subdivided into nomes, or departments, each of which had its

presiding officer with a body of colleagues for all the purposes of local government. Village affairs were under the management of elders and village councils; of whom one member, the scribe, drew up the information required as to population, land tenure, and other particulars, while another dealt with legal questions, contracts, wills, and the like. Each village had its police, who could summon military aid if required, and there were besides tax-gatherers and a host of minor officials. The government of a few towns was allowed to remain as established by the Greeks, and indeed scarcely any radical changes were made throughout the country, except at Alexandria, which was deprived of its Senate and many of its privileges, while the position of the Jews in that city was much improved.

Augustus endeavoured to raise a new city 4 miles distant, which he called Nicopolis, but it was never finished, and Alexandria remained the capital.

In the time of Augustus, 24 B.C., the New Year, which had been fixed 747 years before to commence on the 26th February, had through lapse of time receded till New Year's Day fell upon the 29th August. In 30 B.C. the Solar Year was fixed to consist of 365 days and 6 hours, and to begin on 1st January, which calendar, with the addition of Leap Year, added by Gregory in 1582, remains to the present time; but official documents continued to be dated according to the old system, under which the year began on the 29th August, or 1st Thoth.

The Greeks during the Ptolemaic period had identified their gods with those of the Egyptians, finding counterparts of them among those of Egypt, and as the religion of the Romans resembled that of the Greeks in many essential points, they also adapted themselves easily to the form of religion they found in the country. Under the names of Amen and Khnem, they worshipped Jupiter, the two conceptions of the god being identical. In the same way they adopted Sati for Juno. In Roman Egypt, Serapis, Isis, and Harpokrates were far more important to the Romans than were their own gods. But the Romans were always a negligible quantity in the religious life of Egypt, and they left no lasting mark on its system.

The first Roman governor of Egypt was Cornelius Gallus, a native of Forum Julii, or Fréjus,[1] in the south of France. Shortly after his arrival a revolt occurred in the Theban district against the tax-gatherers; but the forces under Gallus soon restored order. He made conditions of peace with Ethiopia, and gained the submission of several important towns. He was so well satisfied with his successes that he caused statues to be erected

[1] Aubena, *Histoire de Fréjus*, and H. Bullock Hall, *Romans on the Riviera*.

to himself. This greatly displeased Augustus, and he was recalled; but rather than submit to the degradation, he ended his own life.

Gaius Petronius was appointed in his stead, 26 B.C. He suppressed a rising in Alexandria, and cleared the canals—a work much needed. Ælius Gallus, third governor, 25 B.C., was ordered to subdue Ethiopia and Arabia. He equipped a fleet at Cleopatris, with which he landed on the Arabian coast; the expedition, however, failed, as the troops were exhausted owing to their leaders' ignorance of the country through which they were travelling. After their return, Gaius Petronius was reinstated as governor, and he defeated the Ethiopians at Syene and Elephantine, and even as far south as Napata. Their queen, Kandake, sent ambassadors to Cæsar, who was then at Samos, to treat for peace, which was at length obtained, and lasted for many years. Strabo states[1] that at this time there were 2 legions of soldiers stationed in Egypt, 1 in Alexandria; also 9 cohorts—3 at Alexandria, 3 at Syene, and 3 in the rest of the country.

Augustus had a long and prosperous reign of 44 years, during which time Egypt was for the most part tranquil and prosperous. The obelisk known as "Cleopatra's Needle"[2] was erected 13 B.C. in the Cæsareum at Alexandria. It was brought from Heliopolis, is 68 feet in height and 7 feet square at the base. The temple of Dendur, in Nubia, was built about this time, as well as others, including the east wall of the temple of Philæ.

TIBERIUS succeeded Augustus, 14 A.D. Throughout his reign Egypt remained very peaceful, and there are many fine remains of his buildings. He continued the work at Philæ, both in the eastern and western courts, and completed a portion of the temple of Dendera. On the cornice is a dedication in the 20th year of Tiberius to Aphrodite, which mentions the young Augustus, son of Augustus, the prefect Aulus Avillius Flaccus, the sub-prefect Aulus Fulvius Crispus, and other persons.

Tiberius seems to have punished any tyranny on the part of his governors. One who sent more tribute to Rome than had been agreed upon was severely reprimanded, and Germanicus, who visited Egypt without permission, came under the displeasure of the emperor for wearing a Greek dress without having obtained leave to do so, and for opening the public granaries on his own responsibility. Tiberius caused a list of the nomes or provinces of Egypt to be inscribed on the outside

[1] Bk. xvii. c. 7.

[2] Now in London. See page 134. The companion is in New York.

TEMPLE OF ERMENT FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1861

wall of the temple of Philæ. There is a very fine portrait of the emperor there, in which he is represented receiving the symbol of life from the goddess Isis. He reigned 23 years, and was succeeded by CALIGULA, 37 A.D.

At this time there arose serious disturbances between the Jews and the Greeks. Discontent had long smouldered, and the arrival at Alexandria of Agrippa, who had been nominated king of Judæa by the emperor, was the occasion of a riot. The Greeks plundered the Jewish quarter of the town, and killed a great many of the inhabitants. Avillius Flaccus, the governor, took the part of the Greeks, who accused the Jews of refusing to worship the emperor, and also stated that Agrippa was simply a tool in the hands of the money-lenders. Flaccus refused to lay these complaints before Caligula, but when Agrippa represented the condition of the Jews to him, the emperor at once sent troops to Alexandria to arrest Flaccus. This was accomplished at a supper party, and he was taken on board a ship and conveyed to Rome. Both Jews and Greeks sent embassies to ask for the redress of their wrongs, but neither party obtained much satisfaction, the only result being that the Jews were not compelled to worship the statues of the emperor. The buildings of the temples of Dendera and Koptos were continued by Caligula, who reigned 4 years.

CLAUDIUS was born at Lyons, and was 50 years old when he began to reign, 41 A.D. Under him the country prospered greatly. The trade carried on between India and Egypt was protected, piracy and smuggling suppressed, and proper laws for commerce established. Claudius ordered a re-issue of the silver coins called tetradrachms, which had a large circulation, and he was also the first Roman emperor to celebrate on his coins the conquest of Britain. Some of his gold coins bore on the reverse a triumphal arch with the words "De Britan." His name appears in many temples. In the Dêr el Abiad, or "White Monastery," there is an inscription in Greek about him, and he continued the building of Dendera and Philæ. He founded a college at Alexandria, and wrote books himself, which he caused to be read publicly once a year.

There were still constant quarrels between the Jews and Greeks at Alexandria, encouraged by King Agrippa, who roused the Jews to rebellion; but at last an edict was proclaimed by desire of Claudius at Alexandria, which secured to the Jews their rights and privileges, and had beneficial results. Claudius reigned 13 years, and was succeeded 54 A.D. by NERO.

Soon after this the Jews attacked the Greeks in the amphitheatre during the performance of the games, the Roman

soldiery being called upon to quell the tumult. A band of Jews also went to Jerusalem to try to free that city from the Roman yoke, but were unsuccessful. The rest of Egypt prospered and was at peace, the Red Sea was kept open for trade, the canals were cleaned out, and the neighbouring provinces were quiet. Many new coins were struck, and Nero's rule in Egypt seems to have been a just one. His governors were well chosen, and though the taxes were heavy, the people appear to have been satisfied. The Propylon at Karanis seems to have been the only building begun and completed by Nero, but his name appears on many monuments; at Dendera there is a long procession with banners and sacred figures, the high priest offering incense, while Horus and Thoth sprinkle the emperor with the symbols of life, and present him with the white crown of Upper Egypt. His names and title in the 11th year of his reign are inscribed in Greek on the leg of the Vocal Memnon. At Kom Ombo, there is his portrait offering the two eyes of Ra on the Colonnade at Philæ, and at Bubastis in the Delta his cartouche also exists. There are many papyri and smaller objects which bear his name. Nero at one time cherished a grand scheme for the conquest of Ethiopia, but gave it up on hearing of the usurpation of Galba.

GALBA, OTHO, and VITELLIUS. These three emperors followed each other in one year. Galba was an old man of 73 when he succeeded. His name appears on a small temple at Medinet Habu, and also in an inscription of 66 lines in Greek on a doorway of the temple of El Khargeh in the Great Oasis; and in another Greek inscription from Koptos, now in Oxford.

Of Otho nothing is known in Egypt save a trace of his name on one door at Medinet Habu, the same temple where that of Galba is written, and in the temple of Dêr esh Sharawit, a little to the south of the Birket Habu, and on four pieces of pottery.

Vitellius was hardly recognised as emperor beyond the town of Alexandria, and no traces of his name have been found in any building of Egypt.

Before the death of Vitellius, the troops commanded by VESPASIAN in Syria had chosen the latter as emperor; but he was not proclaimed such till he reached Alexandria, July 1, 69 A.D., when he heard of the defeat and death of Vitellius in Italy. He was the first emperor who had lived in Alexandria since Augustus, and he was treated with great honour. The people believed in his power of healing diseases, and brought many sick people to him to perform miracles upon them. He was also supposed to be endowed with second sight. He imposed several new taxes, and the people made rude jokes about

him and gave him nicknames. During his reign the terrible siege of Jerusalem was begun, and soldiers were sent from Egypt to assist in the war. His name is found on the south-west angle of a small temple near the sacred lake of Medinet Habu, also on a wall at Kom Ombo, at Esneh, Karanis, and the Oasis of Dakhel. Several papyri and some inscribed potsherds or ostraka of this period have been found.

TITUS, who succeeded his father 79 A.D., was a great favourite in Egypt, as during his visit there he took part in the ceremonies when a sacred bull was crowned at Memphis. He showed much interest in the worship of the Egyptian gods, especially in that of the Ram-headed god and the Triad of Thebes. There is an interesting small temple, called the "Stone Convent," in the Oasis of Dakhla, on a wall of which is the name of Titus. He also built the south wall of the temple at Latopolis, and opened the quarries near Girgeh. Papyri bearing his name were found at Hawara, and likewise at Oxyrrhynchus and Bacchias. When, during his father's reign, Titus left Egypt for Syria on the expedition which ended in the destruction of Jerusalem, 70 A.D., he took two of the Egyptian legions with him.

DOMITIAN, 81 A.D., further encouraged the worship of the gods in Egypt, and even tried to introduce it into Rome by building a temple to Isis and Serapis. The worship became "fashionable" with some, but did not last long. Juvenal the satirist, who was probably Tribune of Syene, tells of the condition of the people and of the fights which took place between the men of Ombos, the modern Tukh, who were crocodile worshippers, and those of Tentyra, Dendera, who opposed them. Domitian built a bridge at Koptos over the canal, and a temple near El Khargeh, dedicated to Isis and Serapis, where he is shown sacrificing to Horus. The work went on in the quarries near Girgeh during the time that Mettius Rufus was governor, and an inscription there relates that the third Ituræan cohort kept guard, while the quarries were worked by prisoners. The remains of the guard-house are still visible. Another temple, only 12 feet square, dedicated to Isis, is situated near Kom Ombo. Here also is an inscription in Greek of a dedication to Aphrodite by Petronia and her children in the 7th year of Domitian, when Septimus Vegetus was governor. There were frequent disturbances during the reign of this emperor, generally religious disputes between the nomes as to the worship of their gods, and the soldiery were called in to keep order.

Domitian was the last of the 12 great Cæsars. His reign lasted 15 years, 81–96 A.D.

NERVA was born at Narnia, in Umbria. He reigned 2

years, and did not gain much influence in Egypt. On a doorway near Aswân there is an inscription containing his name and that of the governor of the time, as well as those of the commanders of the Spanish, Ituræan, and Theban cavalry. There is also a mention of him on a column at Latopolis, and on a few small fragments of pottery and papyrus.

Nerva was succeeded, 98 A.D., by TRAJAN, and on the whole his reign was peaceful. The army was reduced, and the people prospered—except during a famine caused by a very low Nile. The emperor, however, sent a fleet of ships laden with corn to Alexandria, and much misery was thereby averted. In the latter part of Trajan's reign there were serious conflicts between the Jews and Greeks in Alexandria. The Jews massacred all Greeks who came within their reach, and those who escaped fled into the town and massacred the Jews. The struggle was desperate, and it was only after several battles that the Jews were subdued. For the most part they had been killed, and the few remaining were driven into the Desert, and became robbers. Trajan cut a new canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, and caused a fortress to be built at Babylon, or old Cairo, by Marcius Turbo.[1] New coins were struck bearing his name. Many buildings were erected and restored during this reign; and Pompey's tomb at Alexandria, which had been nearly hidden by sand, was uncovered. Trajan was the last to add to that part of the beautiful temple at Philæ called "Pharaoh's Bed," and in the 8th year of his reign a temple was dedicated to Isis at El Kûft (Coptos). Of his 12th year at Panopolis (Akhmîm), there is an inscription on the temple of Pan, and at Pathyris, or Gebelên, is another on the temple of Hathor; also at Kalabsheh his cartouche is found, as well as a Latin inscription and verses expressing the reverence of the soldiers for the god Meruli Mendulis Mendu. At Dendera there is a beautiful painting in the temple of the Birth House of young Trajan as Horus, nursed by women with cows' heads. At Bulak, in the Great Oasis, is found a Greek inscription on the architrave of a propylon of the 19th year of Trajan, setting forth that it was built by Marcus Rectilius Lupus, governor of Egypt. Trajan reigned 19 years.

HADRIAN, 117 A.D., was one of the few Roman emperors who visited Egypt in person, first in 122 A.D., and again in 131 A.D. He travelled in the country, and restored and beautified many of its temples. On his second expedition, his wife Sabina accompanied him, and this is the first mention of any Roman empress visiting Egypt. Their names and those of their suite

[1] Earlier foundations have been found: possibly it was built by some Babylonia king, who gave it the name, or repaired an old Egyptian fortress.

are inscribed on the statue of the Vocal Memnon as well as verses in its honour, written either by Hadrian or the Court poetess Balbilla, who says that it uttered sounds three times for the emperor, while others only heard them once. Hadrian was a great patron of the arts, and at Alexandria he did much for the professors in the Museum by rewarding them, stimulating discussions, and in many ways giving them encouragement. The influence of Greek art is perceptible at this period, and is especially to be observed in the coinage, and also in the portraits placed over the faces in the mummy-cases. These are sometimes painted in wax on boards, and are beautifully coloured, full of character and expression; they have been principally found in the Fayûm, at Hawara.

The most remarkable event of Hadrian's reign was the building of a new city called Antinoupolis, after his young Bithynian favourite Antinous, who was drowned in the Nile, whether accidentally or as a sacrifice to prolong the life and happiness of the emperor is not known. The death of his favourite was such a grief to Hadrian that he built this wonderful city to his memory after Greek designs. In 1810 many of the pillars were standing, in 1827 some were taken to build a house at Cairo, and as late as 1860 fragments of limestone capitals were lying scattered about. Now not a single vestige remains beyond vast mounds of rubbish and pottery, all the materials having been used to build the town of Roda and the sugar factory on the west bank of the Nile. Hadrian made a road from his new city to the Red Sea to facilitate trade, but the old Koptos route was preferred. In the Great Oasis El Khargeh and at Nadura the name of Hadrian appears in the temple of Isis and Serapis in the 19th year of his reign, as also at Philæ, Latopolis, and Dendera. Papyri and small objects are also found bearing his cartouche, but the most perfect example of his work is the Shrine Temple of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius at Dêr Sharawît, on the border of the Theban Desert. The stone used in building it was brought from the Ramesseum.

ANTONINUS PIUS, 138 A.D. In the first year of his reign a Sothic period of 1460 years was completed. The emperor visited Alexandria and there built a Hippodrome, probably to commemorate this event, as the east and west gates were called "The Sun and Moon." More riots occurred between the Jews and Greeks, and in one of them the prefect Sempronius Liberalis was killed. At Aswân in 1895 there were discovered three granite pedestals covered with Latin inscriptions; one which is dedicated to Antoninus Pius, mentions the prefects of Egypt

and the prefects of the camp, also the commanders of the Spanish, Ituræan, and Theban cavalry. The cartouche of the emperor is found at Latopolis (Esneh), and his inscription is the latest on the temple of Medinet Habu. The Itinerary of Antoninus compiled in this reign of all the military roads in the Roman Empire included a survey of the six roads in Egypt. A very large number of papyri of this time has been discovered.

MARCUS AURELIUS, 161 A.D. A revolt took place among the native soldiers under a priest named Isidoros, which became serious. Avidius Cassius, who was summoned from Syria with troops, was at last able to break up their forces and subdue them. After this, Cassius began to intrigue with the Empress Faustina, so as to secure the crown for himself on the death of Aurelius, and a false report of this event being circulated, his troops proclaimed him emperor. The revolt terminated abruptly, as Cassius and his son were both killed just as Aurelius was preparing for war. The emperor visited Egypt afterwards, granting free pardon to the rebels, and taking the children of Cassius under his protection. On a temple near Latopolis is an inscription of Marcus Aurelius; there is another at Philæ on the west side of a staircase leading to the river, and also on other portions of the temple. Inscriptions in hieroglyphs, Greek, and Latin, and numerous papyri have been found, as well as a Greek papyrus and an ostrakon of the short reign of Avidius Cassius.[1]

COMMODUS began his reign 180 A.D. From the time of Nero till this period Egypt had decidedly prospered under Roman rule. The canal of Trajan and the road of Hadrian to the Red Sea had helped to bring the trade of India and China to the country; but the taxation was very heavy, and the people were sadly burdened. They complained bitterly, but their Roman conquerors proved too strong for them. Many of the people were forced to become soldiers, and so few were left to cultivate the land that agriculture suffered greatly, and there was a scarcity both of food and labour. The emperor was obliged to buy corn from other nations for the supply of Rome, that imported from Egypt not being sufficient. This was bad for trade; the value of coinage decreased, and the prosperity of the nation began to decline. Owing to the impoverished state of the country during the 12 years of the reign of Commodus, no building of consequence was erected. His cartouche and portrait appear on the temple at Latopolis; at Karanis he built a propylon, and there are numerous papyri. He put to death the children of Cassius, who had been adopted by his predecessor.

[1] See page 134.

The accession of PERTINAX took place 193 A.D., but his name does not appear on any building, and has only been found on three papyri. He was proclaimed emperor in Rome on January 1, and murdered on March 28 in the same year, but his death was not known in Egypt on May 19, as an official document bearing his name as emperor, and dated on that day, was found in the Fayûm.

DIDIUS JULIANUS, 193 A.D., ruled for so short a time that he was never acknowledged in Egypt, and PESCENNIUS NIGER, the Roman general in Syria, was declared emperor by the Egyptian people. He was just, generous, and popular, and kept his men in strict order, preventing plunder, and keeping the Bedawin tribes off the frontiers. There were no buildings erected in his time, and only two papyri and two pieces of pottery have been discovered bearing his name.

After SEVERUS became emperor, 193 A.D., he fought against Pescennius Niger at Cyzicus, and was victorious. In order that Rome might be independent of Egypt in future, he was determined to secure supplies of corn elsewhere. He visited that country in person, and restored their Senate to the Alexandrians, as there had been peace between the Jews and Greeks in that city for 80 years. It was under Severus that the famous school was founded in Alexandria where Clemens, Origen, and Julius Africanus were educated. This emperor built the north and south walls of Latopolis, and fine portraits of him and his wife Julia are found there. He placed large blocks of stones to restore the Vocal Memnon, which had been much disturbed by the earthquake 27 B.C.; but it seems to have resented this interference, for it never sang again. There are many hieroglyphic, Greek, and Latin inscriptions of this reign, as well as numerous papyri and some pottery. Severus died in England, at York, in 211 A.D. His sons GETA and CARACALLA succeeded him, but Caracalla murdered Geta the following year, and became sole emperor. He was a cruel and wicked man, and the Egyptians made satirical jokes and stories about him, which made him so angry that he determined to be revenged on them. He therefore proceeded to Egypt, and at Alexandria called a great many of the offenders together and told them that he was going to make soldiers of them; he then ordered his own soldiers to attack them, and they were all killed outside the city, and a massacre also took place within the walls. He caused the town to be divided by a wall, the inhabitants on one side being forbidden to pass to the other; all games were stopped, and very strict laws were made. He built a temple to Isis in Rome in 217 A.D.,

thinking he might derive some comfort from the worship he had seen in Egypt, for he suffered remorse on account of his barbarous conduct. He built the outer wall of the temple at Latopolis, on which is his portrait and another of himself and his brother Geta. His cartouche may be seen in the quarry at Gebelên and Aswân. The colossal head found at Koptos has a most forbidding expression. Inscriptions concerning him are found in hieroglyphs, Greek, and Demotic; he is named in the sandstone quarries at Kertasi. There are also many papyri and a few specimens of pottery belonging to his reign.

MACRIANUS succeeded after the murder of Caracalla, in 217 A.D. There are but few records of his rule in Egypt. He is represented on the temple of Kom Ombo, with his son Diadumenianus. A papyrus in the British Museum and a bit of pottery in the possession of Seymour de Ricci also mention their names. He recalled the prefect, and sent another, Basilianus, instead, and with him a senator, Marcus Secundus, thus disobeying Augustus, who had decreed that a senator should not hold this office in Egypt.

HELIOGABALUS (Elagabalus) had been proclaimed emperor in Syria, 213 A.D., and the Roman troops in Alexandria supported him. Disturbances took place between them and the partisans of Basilianus and Marcus, the latter being killed, and the former escaping to Rome. The name of Heliogabalus occurs in Greek on a part of the quarry near Gebelên, dated the 1st year of his reign, and on the wall at Kertasi in the 2nd year. Some papyri have also been found, and a tablet.[1]

ALEXANDER SEVERUS succeeded 222 A.D. The only mention of this emperor as yet known is on the quarries at Kertasi in the 12th year of his reign, in inscriptions in Greek and Demotic, and on several papyri. He sent a prefect to Egypt named Epagathus, who had been causing disturbance at Rome, and this seems to prove that Egypt was no longer considered as important as formerly, but was used as a place of banishment for troublesome offenders. Severus, like most of his predecessors, was assassinated, 238 A.D.

The next 13 emperors had such short reigns that there is nothing worthy of record concerning them. The period lasted from 235–268 A.D. Papyri are found of MAXIMINUS, 235–238; of GORDIANUS III., 238–244; PHILIPPUS, 244–249; DECIUS,[2] 249–251; the last emperor who built at Esneh (Latopolis); VALERIANUS, 253–260; and GALIENUS, 260–268. MACRIANUS was chosen by the Syrian soldiers to be emperor, as he and his sons, MACRIANUS II. and Quietus, had been fighting with

[1] In the Amherst Collection.

[2] See page 365, "Christianity."

them; but the Alexandrians proclaimed ÆMILIANUS, one of themselves, instead, who for a short time did well, and subdued some of the troublesome tribes, especially the Blemmyes, now identified with the present tribe of Bisharîn, who had been invading Egypt. While these factions were fighting, Theodotus arrived with an army, attacked Alexandria, and left it a heap of ruins, sending Æmilianus prisoner to Rome.

CLAUDIUS II. succeeded in 268 A.D., and it was during his reign that Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, so celebrated for her beauty, tried to throw off her allegiance to Rome. She was encouraged to do so by Timagenes, an Egyptian, and sent an army into Egypt of 70,000 men. The struggle lasted for some time with varying success, but at last the Romans were defeated near Babylon, and Probus, their general, committed suicide. The Palmyrenes extended their rule to Upper Egypt, and found supporters in the regiment of archers raised by Hadrian and stationed at Koptos by Caracalla; these were joined by the Blemmyes. The jurisdiction of the Romans was almost limited to Alexandria and its neighbourhood during this reign, and the Arabs for the most part held the country. One papyrus only is known of Claudius' time, which is in the British Museum.

QUINTILLUS, 270 A.D., only reigned a few months, and AURELIANUS succeeded the same year. Zenobia tried to ingratiate herself with the Romans by having coins struck with the head of Aurelian on the one side and that of her son on the other. But the emperor went in person to Alexandria, defeated the queen's troops, and carried her prisoner to Rome, where she was allowed to live in luxury. In spite of the defeat of the Palmyrenes, there were still disturbances thoughout the country, the most serious being organised by Firmus, leader of the Egyptian malcontents, who established himself at Koptos, and Aurelian was obliged to return a second time to Egypt to suppress the rebellion. There are papyri of this reign.

The Bruchium, the royal quarter of Alexandria, was destroyed in 273 A.D.

After 5 years TACITUS succeeded, 275 A.D., but only lived a few months, when PROBUS came to the throne, 276 A.D. He had been left as governor in Egypt by Aurelian, and was chosen emperor on the death of Tacitus. The Blemmyes and other frontier tribes were very troublesome, and he had much difficulty in subduing them; but he recovered Koptos and Ptolemaïs, two important military stations. There is but one papyrus of this reign.

CARUS, who came next, was killed by lightning before he

had reigned a year, and was succeeded by his son CARINUS, who was assassinated the year following. A fragment of a Greek tablet from Antinoupolis mentioning Carius, Carinus, and Numerianus, is now in the Musée Guimet in Paris.

DIOCLETIANUS succeeded 284 A.D. The Blemmyes and other Arab tribes being still rebellious and constantly invading the frontier, Diocletian induced the Nobatæ, supposed to be the Nuba or Nuer tribe, who were his allies, to settle near Syene and protect the borders. No sooner had this arrangement been made than a revolt broke out in Alexandria, where Lucius Domitianus was proclaimed emperor and struck coins in his own name. Diocletian came to quell the insurrection, and took the city after a siege of eight months, during which Alexandria suffered terribly. He made great monetary reforms, regulated the taxes on corn, and divided them into three portions—the first for seed for next year's sowing, the second for the support of Rome, and the third for Alexandria. A beautiful column was erected by the citizens in honour of this emperor, which is erroneously called "Pompey's Pillar," and is a record of their gratitude to him.

Christians[1] were sorely persecuted in this reign, called "The Era of Martyrs"; they refused to accord to Diocletian the dignity of a god. He built a beautiful arch at Philæ, and his inscriptions in Latin and Greek, as well as several papyri, have been found.

GALERIUS and MAXIMINUS reigned as joint emperors, 305 A.D. Maximinus was defeated by LICINIUS, 313 A.D., and, attempting to reach Egypt, died at Tarsus. Licinius was afterwards overthrown by Constantine, 323.

CONSTANTINE was the son of Constantius Chlorus and Helena. On gaining possession of his whole empire, he fixed his capital at Constantinople, instead of choosing Alexandria, as the Egyptians much desired. This decision annoyed the Alexandrians, and both civil and religious disturbances followed; but the plots were discovered, and speedily frustrated. Trade between Egypt, Abyssinia, and Arabia was encouraged by Constantine, who improved the condition of the country, though it was still impoverished. In 337 A.D. Constantine intended to go to war with Sapor II., king of Persia, but died at Nicomedia, having first been baptized a Christian.

Constantine divided his empire between his three sons—CONSTANS becoming emperor of the West; CONSTANTINE II. was killed 340 A.D.; and the Eastern Empire, including Egypt, became the portion of CONSTANTIUS.

[1] See page 367.

Of the 11 emperors who followed, there are very few records on the monuments in Egypt.

Julianus, 361–363 A.D. Jovianus, 363–364 A.D.
Valens, 364–378 A.D. Sent a force to the Red Sea to subdue an insurrection headed by the Arabian queen Mavia.[1] There does not appear to have been a battle, as a treaty of peace was made, and Mavia's daughter married Victor, the Roman general.
Theodosius I., 378–395 A.D. Attempt to enforce Christianity throughout the Roman Empire, including Egypt.[2]
Arcadius, 395–408 A.D.
Theodosius II., 408–450 A.D. Wars with Blemmyes and other border tribes.
Marcianus, 450–457 A.D. Peace made with Blemmyes for 100 years.
Leo I., 457–474 A.D. Leo II. 474 A.D. Zeno, 474–491 A.D. Anastatius, 491–518 A.D.

The great Roman Empire was approaching its fall. The determined inroads of the barbaric tribes upon its dominions in the west, as well as in the east, had become too powerful for its resources to withstand, and it had neither men nor money sufficient to preserve its distant possessions. The corn supply of Egypt being so valuable to the Romans, they tried to hold the country as long as possible, but their grasp was rapidly becoming loosened, and the invasion by the Persians which took place in the reign of Anastatius was but the beginning of the end.

The Persians entered the Delta, but were driven back from Alexandria by the Romans, while the tribe of Homeritæ attacked the Persians from the south.

JUSTINIUS I., 518–527 A.D., sent an embassy to the king of the Homeritæ, an Arabian tribe, who again invaded the Persian territory in order to protect the trading road between India and Egypt.

JUSTINIANUS, 527–565 A.D. The Persians had captured the caravan routes of Mount Sinai, and the emperor erected buildings garrisoned by monks to protect the road. The Homeritæ and Axumitæ quarrelled, and the king of Axum, in Abyssinia, sent to Alexandria to solicit the help of the Romans, the result being that the Indian trade was for a time kept open for Egypt and blocked in great measure for the Persians. In the end but little advantage was gained by the Romans, owing to the frequent quarrels among the tribes.

The hundred years' peace with the Blemmyes, which had been made by Marcianus in 453, having expired, they again became troublesome, and Justinian sent "Narses the Persar-

[1] See page 371, "Mohammed." [2] See page 371.

menian" to put an end to the barbarous rites which were being carried on there by the priests of Isis.[1] These coercive measures proved futile, as the Blemmyes were not subdued, and continued their inroads.

JUSTINIUS II., 565–578 A.D. During the reign of Justinius II., Cosmos, a native of Egypt, explored the Persian Gulf, India, and Ceylon, and has left a record of his discovery of two inscriptions on a monument at Adula, on the Red Sea, as well as a narrative of his voyages, called *Christian Topography*.

TIBERIUS II., 578–582 A.D. A Nubian campaign under Aristomachus was successful.

MAURICIUS, 582–602 A.D.

PHOCAS, 602–610 A.D. The greater part of the struggle between Phocas and his rival and successor was fought out in Egypt, Heraclius' cause being supported by the populace.

HERACLIUS, 610–641 A.D. Heraclius succeeded in 610 A.D., but the mighty Roman Empire was little more than a name. The power of the Persians continued to increase, and as they advanced on the Delta, the number of refugees crowding into Alexandria became so enormous that the governor could not cope with the difficulty, and, knowing he could get no help from Heraclius, fled to Cyprus, leaving the Persians masters in Egypt. They remained there for ten years, and their rule probably made little difference to the masses of the people. Their army consisted mostly of Arabs and Syrians; but the population of Alexandria was such a medley of different nations that the Persians found many to welcome them. In 629 there was a serious revolt against the Persian rule by the Arabs, and Heraclius seized the opportunity to regain his lost possessions. He marched against the Persians and drove them out of Egypt, and for a short time re-established his power, but was again driven out himself by the Arabs under Amr, who captured Pelusium, defeated the Romans at Heliopolis, and seized the Fayûm. These disasters seem to have been hastened by desertions of many of the Christian population, who openly went over to the Arab side. Amr pursued the Roman troops to the Delta, but could get no farther for a time. This was the beginning of that great Mohammedan invasion which was so shortly to change the whole destiny of the East.

CONSTANTINE II., 641 A.D. The Romans endeavoured to conciliate Amr, and even offered him tribute, so as to gain time to reinforce their army, but the help promised from Constantinople never came, and Amr seized the Egyptian fortress of Babylon and Nikiu in the Delta.

[1] See page 376, "Christianity."

BISHARIN AT ASWAN.

HERACLEONAS, 641–642 A.D. Alexandria was besieged, and quarrels having arisen between the Roman and Egyptian generals, Domentianus and Menas, they found resistance impossible, and sued for peace. Amr granted terms to Cyrus the governor, which included the withdrawal of the Roman troops before the expiration of 11 months, the payment of tribute by the Alexandrians, and the protection of Jews and Christians.

CONSTANS II., 642–668 A.D. The Roman forces were withdrawn according to the agreement with Amr, and the empire of Rome in Egypt ended.

The history of the later period of the Roman occupation of Egypt is very meagre, and consists principally of records of quarrels between the Arians and Athanasius at Alexandria, where factions raged fiercely.[1] Egypt grew to be of less and less importance, becoming a mere corn-growing province of the Roman Empire, which ruled it by a military despotism. The taxes were very heavy, that on corn the most so, and if the farmer had not the actual grain to give, he was obliged to make up the value in money according to the amount for which his land was assessed. Everything seems to have been taxed —agricultural and domestic property, poll tax, tolls on passenger as well as goods traffic, taxes for repairs of roads and temples, and compulsory lodging of State officials when on their district tours—all these made up a burden which lay heavy on the shoulders of the already impoverished population.

The papyri recently found at Oxyrrhynchus throw much new light on this period, and contain descriptions of the public buildings and places of amusement, with the number of watchmen assigned to each. There were at Oxyrrhynchus a theatre, a racecourse, a gymnasium, and three sets of baths, and society gatherings seem to have taken place in much the same way then as now—invitations to dinner, to be present at weddings and other family events, being expressed in almost similar words to those used in the present day.

The arts declined under the Roman rule. The public monuments, statues, and pottery are all inferior to those of earlier dates, but industries were not neglected, and a letter from Hadrian to Servianus says, "No one is idle; some work glass, others make paper, others weave linen." The latter industry was mostly practised in the villages, where it is still carried on, as at the modern Akhmîm. Agriculture was the principal occupation of the country, and the chief crops were corn and barley; but flax and lentils were likewise grown, and

[1] See page 378, "Christianity."

also figs, olives, and vines. Wages increased considerably under the Romans, but as all necessaries of life rose in value, it is probable that the labourers remained very much in the same position as formerly. In spite of their strong military force, the country grew more and more lawless during the Roman period, and the papyri abound with complaints to local authorities of trespass, theft, and assault.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PROPHET MOHAMMED

"The moon of Mahommet
Arose, and it shall set,
While blazoned as on heaven's immortal noon,
The Cross leads generations on."

SHELLEY: *Hellas.*

IN order to understand the important change in the history of Egypt which took place during the seventh century, it is necessary to give a short summary of the life of the Prophet Mohammed, and of the Faith of which he was the Founder. Mohammed was born in 570 A.D., of the tribe of the Koreish, one of the highest rank in Arabia, a division of the Ishmailites who had for many generations been permitted to have charge of the Kaaba, or sacred place in Mekka, where the best forms of the Pagan rites in Arabia existed. It was known 700 years before the birth of Mohammed, and contains a stone which was greatly venerated, and supposed by its worshippers to owe its black colour to the tears of Adam, and a holy well called Zem-zem. These still exist, and are visited by pilgrims to Mekka every year. The language spoken by the Koreish was the best Arabic, and they took great pride in being the most learned tribe in the country. They had a rude form of writing in Cufic character, invented by Morama of Anhar. Arabic writing as now used was not invented till 300 years after the death of Mohammed.

Abdallah and his wife Amina, the father and mother of Mohammed, both died when he was young, and he was left in poor circumstances to the care of his grandfather, Abd el Muttalib, and his eldest uncle, Abu Talib, a merchant, who took most affectionate care of him. When 13 years old, he accompanied his uncle on his journeys to different cities, and was taught his business. A few years later, Abu Talib brought him to the notice of a rich widow in Mekka, called Khadija, who was so pleased with him that she made him her factor, and when

he was about 25 years old, married him. Mohammed possessed "a commanding presence, a comely and agreeable person," and was a man of excellent judgment, with a "cheerful and equable temper, great courage both of thought and action, a sweet clear voice," "but a man of few words," and although unable to read and write, he studied "men and the book of Nature." This want of learning proved an advantage afterwards, as his followers said his words were inspired. He had a slave called Zaid, probably a Christian, and with him Mohammed conversed about his religion.

Christianity had been for a long time introduced into Arabia, and many tribes had embraced it. In 372 A.D., Moses, a bishop consecrated by Lucius, Bishop of Alexandria, was sent there by the request of the Saracen[1] queen Mavia. There were also many Jews in the country, and from these and the Christians Mohammed learnt their doctrines, and was encouraged to try to reform the prevailing religion of the people, who still believed in sacrificial rites, the existence of demons and of gods who inhabited caves, rocks, and trees. Mohammed could not accept the Christian faith, as he could not believe in the Divinity of Christ, but considered Him to be among the Prophets, such as Adam, Noah, Moses, Abraham, and himself. The Life and Precepts of Jesus Christ were taken by Mohammed from the Gospel of St. Barnabas, which was known in Arabia at that time, and differs in many respects from the inspired writings.

The heresies of Arius and Nestorius had crept into the early Christian Church and caused much dispute, and thus the way was prepared for Mohammed to formulate his religion. This consisted in the belief that there is "One Only God," and that he, Mohammed, was the Prophet chosen by God to go forth and preach this simple faith. He retired every year during the month of Ramadan to a cave in Mount Hora, near Mekka, to be alone and to think out the details of the religion he was to teach—in commemoration of which fact this month has ever since been observed as a period of fasting by his followers. The first person in whom he confided was his wife Khadija, who aided him in his work, and instructed a cousin of hers, Waraka ibn Nowfal, who was a Christian and could write Hebrew. This man was a great help in putting down Mohammed's ideas as they occurred to him. The Prophet was at that time 40 years old, and his mission is considered to have begun at this period.

[1] The name "Saracen" was used in mediæval times as a general name for the various Arab tribes who together formed the Mohammedan Empire. Its origin is very obscure, and may have come from the Arabic word for "dwellers in the desert," or "Easterns," or for "robber bands."

His next convert was his slave Zaid, who also assisted in the work, having some knowledge of the Scriptures. Others followed, amongst them Ali (the son of his uncle Abu Talib, and husband of his daughter Fatima), Abu Bekr, and four chief men of his tribe. Mohammed now began to dictate to them the precepts of the "Koran," a word derived from the Arabic word "Karaa," to read—or "a collection of writings to be read." The texts were written on palm leaves, pottery, and whitened bones, but it was not until 20 years after the death of Mohammed that these writings were collected by the Khaliph Abu Bekr, who arranged them in their present form.

For three years Mohammed and his companions continued to study and write in private, and after that the Prophet began to preach and exhort the people to listen to his new religion and forsake their idolatries. He met with great discouragement, but still persevered, and by the end of the 6th year he had a following of 83 men and 18 women, and was also joined by his uncle Hamza. The 10th year of his mission is called by him the "Year of Mourning," as he had the great sorrow of losing his wife Khadija and his uncle Abu Talib. He was also obliged to go into hiding, as the tribe of the Koreish was very bitter against him. In the 12th year Mohammed stated that he had made a night journey from Mekka to Jerusalem, riding on a wonderful Beast called the "Borak"; that he had been taken up into Heaven, and had talked with God as Moses had done, and received many instructions from God through the Angel Gabriel. Some people discredited this story; but many more thought it true, and believed in him. In the 13th year of his mission, Mohammed chose 12 disciples, who were to remain near him and do his bidding. The people of Mekka would not allow him to preach in the Kaaba, and vowed they would kill him. The Prophet, however, heard of the plot in time, and escaped by night with Abu Bekr, father of his later wife Ayesha, to Medina, and when the conspirators came to his tent in the morning they found only Ali disguised in Mohammed's cloak.

At Medina he was warmly welcomed by his friends, and many disciples joined him. This flight from Mekka to Medina, a distance of 270 miles, marks the 1st year of the Hejra, or the year from which all Mohammedan nations count their calendar, corresponding to 622 A.D., each year containing 12 lunar months, or 354 days—an allowance of 11 days being made in every 30 years. On his arrival at Medina, Mohammed built a house for himself and a mosque for religious worship, and began to rule as Prince and Prophet. He raised a white

banner as his standard, which was soon stained with blood; he made several attacks on the Koreish tribes, and in the 2nd year of the Hejra fought the victorious battle of Bedr. His great wish was to possess Mekka, and in the 6th year he raised a considerable force for the purpose. When within a short distance of the town, an ambassador, a chief of the tribe of Thakif, was sent by the inhabitants to meet him and sue for peace. Mohammed entered the city with his followers, walked 7 times round the Kaaba, and made a truce for 10 years with the tribe.

In the 7th year of the Hejra, Mohammed sent letters to many of the neighbouring princes, and also to distant nations, asking them to join his standard. Many did so, amongst others the Mukawkis, governor of Egypt, who accepted many valuable gifts from Mohammed. The Emperor Heraclius received the Prophet's ambassador in a friendly way, but did not embrace his religion. The Greeks behaved most cruelly to the messenger sent to them, in consequence of which Mohammed despatched an army of 3000 men against them, and they met at Muta, a town of Balka, in Syria. At first, owing to the superiority of the Greek force, the Moslems were defeated; but they rallied, and were successful in the end, and Mohammed gave himself the title "One of the Swords of God," "Seif min soyuf Allah." His faithful servant Zaid was killed in this battle.

The Koreish having broken their 10 years' truce after two years, Mohammed attacked Mekka with an army of 10,000 men, and the town capitulated, as it could not withstand such a force. A few of the chief leaders of the rebellion were executed by his order, the rest were pardoned, and all the idols were destroyed. After this victory, in the 9th year nearly all the Koreish joined the Prophet, and in the 10th year Ali went to the Yemen territory and converted almost all the population, the whole tribe of Hamdan becoming converts in one day.

Mohammed was vigorous and full of spirit up to his 63rd year. His tastes and habits were very plain and simple, living chiefly on bread, dates, and water, and requiring his family and followers to do the same. He was scrupulously clean in person and dress, and kind and forgiving to his enemies, never exercising any of the barbarous cruelties so common at that time; but unfortunately those who followed him were not so forbearing, and many a fierce fight took place between Moslems and Christians, Jews and people of other creeds. After he had destroyed all the idols in the Kaaba at Mekka, the Prophet

returned to his house at Medina, where he was seized with a violent fever. He was taken to the Mosque for prayers, and his friends did their utmost to save his precious life, his favourite wife Ayesha nursing him with loving care; but these efforts were of no avail, and he died in her arms on the 13th of Rabi, the 11th year of the Hejra, on the 8th June 632 A.D.

He was truly a great and wonderful man, and created a religion which now numbers 200 millions of followers in the Eastern world, and though as Christians we cannot approve of all his doctrine, yet when first promulgated his teaching was far better than the old forms of idolatry and pagan worship which then prevailed. It is impossible not to admire the man who founded this religion and his simple faith in the One Only God. He left many excellent rules and precepts which it would be well if men of other creeds would practise, and of which some idea may be gathered from the slight sketch which follows.

THE KORAN.

The Koran is divided into 114 chapters, or "Sowar," each subdivided into verses, or "Ayat," and in many respects is arranged in the same form as the Bible. The whole is written in classical Arabic, in fluent and beautiful phrases, "most poetical and dignified." The great doctrine it teaches is the "Unity of God," and it is the Mohammedan code of faith and practice. One of the most stringent rules is that the Holy Book is never to be touched without washing the hands, and no prayers are to be said nor sentences read without following the same injunction.

The faith is called "Islam," meaning obedience or submissiveness, and is divided into two parts—"Iman," Faith, and "Din," Practice. The first of these is, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is His Prophet." This is again divided into—1st, belief in God; 2nd, in His Angels; 3rd, in His Scriptures; 4th, in His Prophets; 5th, in the Resurrection and Day of Judgment and Eternal Life; 6th, in God's absolute predestination for good and evil.

The second, Practice, consists of—1st, Prayer; 2nd, Alms; 3rd, Fasting; 4th, Pilgrimage to Mekka. The four Angels to whom honour is given are "Gabrael," the Holy Spirit; "Michael," the Protector; "Asrael," the Angel of Death; and "Israfil," who will sound the trumpet at the Resurrection. The idea of these angels is taken from the apocryphal book of Barnabas. There are also two guardian angels who attend on

man every day, called Moakkibat. The Devil is called "Eblis," or Despair. He was once an angel called "Azazil," and was cast out of Heaven because of his disobedience. There are several other angels who are venerated, and also many prophets.

Prayer is the "pillar of religion," the "key of Paradise," and is to be said 5 times a day—1st, before sunrise; 2nd, at noon; 3rd, in the afternoon; 4th, before sunset; 5th, at the first watch of the night; always with the face turned towards Mekka. During its recital many and various obeisances are made, the suppliant constantly bowing the head, bending the knee, and touching the ground with the forehead, always ending by turning to the east and west to invoke the aid of the angels.

"Prayer carries us half-way to God; Fasting brings us to the door of His Palace; Alms procure us admission."

The souls of the faithful are divided into three classes—1st, those of the Prophets, which go straight to Heaven; 2nd, of the Martyrs, which remain in Paradise; 3rd, those which may linger by their graves or hover in the form of birds, and so remain until the Last Day, the coming of which will be made known by many signs, such as the decay of faith, the advancement of mean persons to dignity, tumults, wars, the coming of the Anti-Christ or "Cafer" the infidel, the descent of Jesus to the White Tower of Damascus, the speaking of beasts, and the return of the "Mahdi" or Director, who the Shiites believe to be alive always. There will be three blasts of trumpets—1st, the Blast of Consternation; 2nd, of Examination; and, 40 years after, the Blast of Resurrection, which is to be sounded by Israfil from the rock of the Temple at Jerusalem, when all the souls shall "come forth like bees and fill the space between heaven and earth, and fly to their respective bodies, which the opening earth will suffer to arise." The place where the souls will assemble after resurrection is doubtful. Some say Syria, and others a "white tract of land without inhabitants and without houses," "and there the souls will be judged by God, Who will come on the clouds surrounded by angels." Each must give an account of their actions, and receive reward or punishment according to their merits. All deeds will then be weighed in the balance which is held by the Angel Gabrael. The right scale hangs over Paradise, the left over Hell, and a hair will turn the scale; and the straight bridge, "El Sirat," which leads either way, is as sharp as a sword's edge. Hell is divided into 7 parts—"Jehennan," for Mohammedans who have once been wicked, but will be released after due punishment; "Ladhd," for the Jews; "Hotama," for the Christians; the last for those who were hypocrites and professed religion, but had

none in their hearts; for these, torments are fearful, and last throughout eternity. Other sinners can, more or less, expiate their sins and be washed "with the water of life" by walking through one of the rivers of Paradise. A wall or partition, called "El Araf," divides Heaven from Hell.

Heaven is divided also into 7 partitions. The 7th is the highest heaven, and is next the Throne of God. The glories are described as wonderful; its stones are pearls and jacinth, its buildings of gold and silver. The trunks of the trees are of gold, and the tree called "Tuba" is the tree of happiness; it stands in the palace of Mohammed, and is laden with all kinds of delicious fruit of "surprising bigness and taste unknown to mortals." From this tree flows the "Cawthar," or river of life, and the gardens Jaunat and Aden are full of marvellous flowers and perfumes. They have 8 gates, and the souls of the righteous will be met at the entrance by two angels bearing magnificent garments and a gold ring, and will be fed by God with a loaf of bread, meat of the ox Balam and the fish Nun, a small portion of which will suffice for 70,000 men, or all the principal guests. Each soul will then be sent to the house prepared for him, and will be provided with wives and servants, food served on dishes of gold; goblets of wine, which he was not permitted to drink when alive, will delight but not inebriate. Exquisite music will be arranged by the Angel Israfil and the daughters of Paradise. The singing of the birds and the soft murmur of the trees help to swell the sweet strains caused by the wind that proceeds straight from the Throne of God. The women are of perfect beauty, and have large black eyes and faultless forms. They live in houses fashioned out of hollow pearls, and they are called "Hurani" (Houris).

Almsgiving is strictly enjoined in two methods, by laws laid down in the Koran—1st, of cattle, camels, sheep, corn, fruit, and money, one-fortieth part should be given to the poor, as well as the same proportion of the proceeds of goods sold; 2nd, the faithful are advised to bestow voluntary alms, or "Sedeka," and collections are likewise to be made in the mosques.

Fasting is especially prescribed, and is called by Mohammed the "Gate of Religion." It is of three kinds—to abstain from eating and drinking, from pleasant sights and sounds, and most of all, from all worldly cares and pleasures. The month of Ramadan is observed as a special fast, when no one is allowed to eat or drink from sunrise to sunset. This fast is most strictly kept, but sometimes the rule is relaxed in cases of illness, extreme old age, or during any especial journey. In many cases an equal number of fast days are observed at

another time in place of those omitted. A feast is always held the day after the month of fasting is over, which is called "Beiram," but this was not instituted by the Prophet.

There are many laws respecting drinking wine, gaming, divination, health, and likewise concerning marriage. A man was allowed to have four wives; but "if he find inconvenience from that number, he may only marry one." If a man wishes to get rid of his wife, he can send her away; and if he does not want her back, she can marry again after three months. To marry a wife's sister was strictly forbidden. Mohammed himself could marry as many wives as he pleased, "it being the privilege of a prophet," and if he parted from any wife, she was never allowed to marry again.

Four months in the year were considered more holy than the rest—the 1st, 7th, 11th, and 12th. One day, Friday, the 6th day in the week, was set apart as holy, and was called "The Prince of Days"; but after public worship people were allowed to go to their daily work or amusements.

There are numerous sects amongst the Mohammedans, and serious quarrels often take place. The chief factions are the Sunnis and the Shias. The first, called the "Orthodox," take their name from the "Sunna," an addition to the Koran, consisting of sayings of the Prophet, of which they acknowledge the canonical authority. They also believe in the first three Khaliphs, *i.e.* Successor, Abu-Bekr, chosen by Mohammed, Omar, and Othman, as rightful Imams, or spiritual leaders.

The other great faction reject the Sunna, and consider Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, of equal importance with him.

The first chapter of the Koran is as follows: "Praise be to God the Lord of all creatures, the Most Merciful, the King of the Day of Judgment. Direct us in the right way, in the way of those to whom Thou hast been gracious, not of those against whom Thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray." The 114th chapter, or last, is as follows: "Say, I fly for refuge unto the Lord of Men, the King of Men, the God of Men, that He may deliver me from the mischief of the Whisperer, the Devil, who slyly withdraweth, who whispereth evil suggestions into the breasts of men from Genii and Men."

Many Bible stories and much of the ethical teaching of our Scriptures have been incorporated in the Koran, and a study of the latter will show how well it was adapted to the life and modes of thought of an Eastern people of those times.

CHAPTER IX

MOHAMMEDAN RULE[1]

PART I.—THE FIRST FOUR KHALIPHS, CALLED "ORTHODOX"

"Oh dread succession to a dizzy past!
Sad sway of sceptre whose mere touch appals!"
BROWNING: *Apparent Failure.*

THE following history will show that the ambition of Islam was as much to have temporal dominion as to bring the world under one spiritual rule. The doctrine spread like wildfire. Very soon after the death of Mohammed his followers overran the neighbouring countries of Syria and Chaldea, these conquests being a prelude to extension in other directions, their dominion reaching in 647 A.D. as far west as Spain.

The centre of government moved from Medina in Arabia to Damascus or Baghdad, according to whichever branch of the successors of the Prophet became powerful enough to found a dynasty. But this huge Arab Empire was too vast to remain long in peace, and only occasionally do we find that one Khaliph was universally acknowledged. Hence the great power of local governors, and the importance of those in Egypt.

Mohammed had many children, but his daughter Fatima, who married her cousin Ali, was the only one who survived him. According to the expressed desire of Mohammed when he was dying, his father-in-law Abu-Bekr was appointed his successor. This nomination displeased Ali very much, and at first he refused to acknowledge Abu-Bekr, but in the end submitted. The new Khaliph had great difficulties to overcome, owing both to disturbances within his country and troubles without; but he was victorious in his campaigns, especially against Persia and in Arabia.

[1] This chapter is chiefly epitomized from *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, by Stanley Lane-Poole, M.A., Litt.D.

Abu-Bekr was a man of wealth, having been a successful merchant in his youth. He had also much learning, and seems to have been well fitted for the task he undertook of superintending the collecting and arrangement of the fragmentary portions of the Koran. In his youth he had vehemently opposed Mohammed and his preaching, but after his conversion he showed such zeal and devotion that he was given the title of "El Siddik," or "The Faithful." He remained Khaliph only two years, and died in August 634 A.D.

Omar succeeded Abu Bekr as Khaliph. He was a relation of Abdallah, the father of Mohammed, and at first began by being a fierce opponent of Islam, but, like his predecessor, became one of its most active supporters. His conversion is said to date from his having read accidentally a portion of the 20th chapter of the Koran. He was a very able man, faithful in the discharge of his duties, and, though strict in discipline, he won the regard and devotion of his soldiers, whom he led through many victorious campaigns. One of his great generals was Amr ibn el-Asi, who, like himself, had in his early days opposed Mohammed. Amr was a man of great ability and courage, and Omar recognised his powers. After assisting the Khaliph in the successful wars which resulted in the taking of Damascus in 635 and Jerusalem in 637, and in his conquests in Persia, he was sent against Egypt with 4000 troops, consisting principally of horsemen armed with swords, lances, and bows. In the 18th year of the Hejra, December 639, at El Arish, on the border of Egypt, he kept the Dhu l Higga, or "Feast of Sacrifice." He then invaded Egypt, and attacked and captured the Roman garrison at Pelusium, January 640.

The Moslems were aided in their invasion of Egypt by the treachery of a man in very high position. In the accounts of this period by Arab writers this person is called the Mukawkis, but his identity has long been a matter of dispute. John of Nikiu calls him Cyrus. According to some modern historians, it now seems probable that he was really Cyrus, who had been appointed both Melkite patriarch and governor of Egypt[1] by Heraclius, 10 years previously, who was the enemy of the Coptic patriarch Benjamin.

The name "Mukawkis" has also been variously derived,[2] some considering it a title equivalent to "excellency," or a name for the governors of Egypt used by the Arabs, others a term of the deepest reproach; but the theory that it was a corruption, or adjective form of Caucasus or Colchis, whence Cyrus had

[1] A. J. Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, Appendix C.

[2] One meaning of the word "Mukawkis" is "ringdove." See also pp. 242 and 378.

been removed to Egypt by the emperor, is plausible. It has also been stated to be derived from the name of a small coin which was used to pay the taxes. Whoever he may have been, the Mukawkis was an arch-traitor to his country and to Christendom, for it was partly through his help that the tide of Islam swept over Northern Africa.

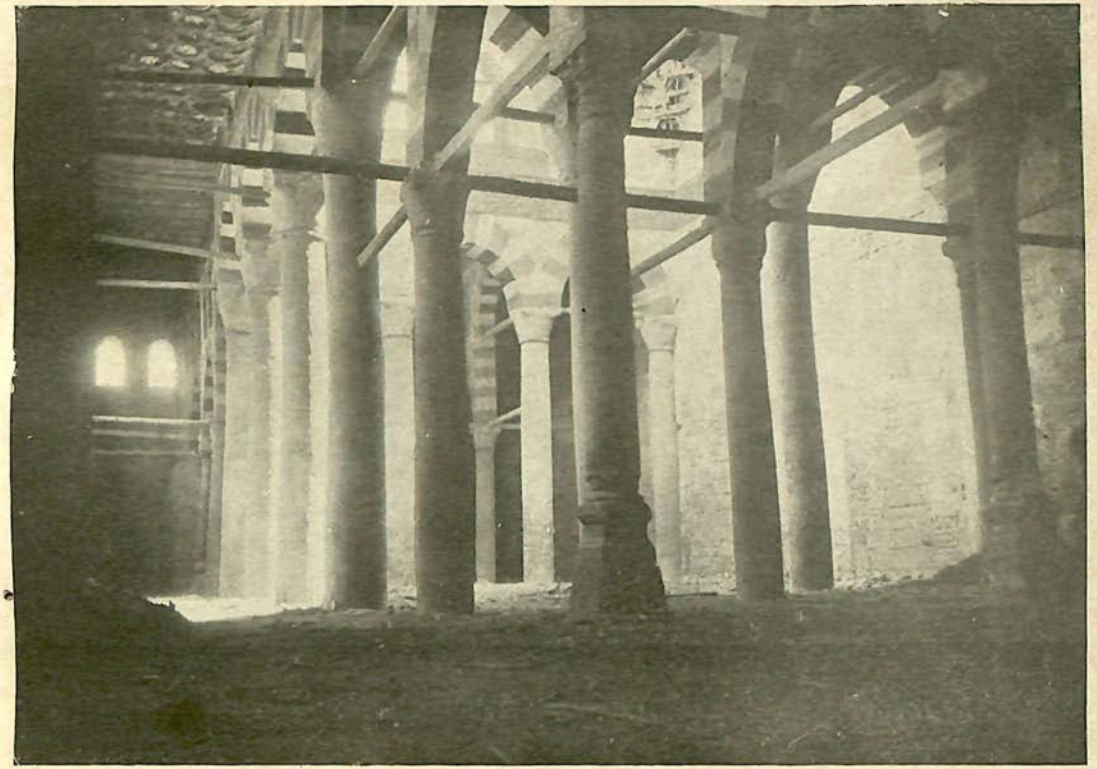
Amr defeated the Romans at Pelusium, 20th Jan. 639 A.D. He was afterwards repulsed by Theodosius of the Thebaid, and John of Maras, in the Fayûm, May 640, and retired to Babylon, which lay on the east bank of the Nile, near the modern Cairo. In an engagement with the Romans at Heliopolis, Amr won a complete victory, driving the enemy into the river, where they lost all their army with the exception of 300 men. The city of Babylon was thus completely at the mercy of Amr and his Saracens, and fell into their hands. Historians differ as to the exact date of this conquest, but it is clear that it took place before September 640. Amr was a just and generous conqueror, and showed clemency to all. He made a treaty promising the people that their persons, religion, goods and lands should be respected, only imposing a "gizya," or poll tax, upon those who would not embrace Islam; any who did not wish to become citizens were protected until they left the country. The people were to be held answerable for any acts of violence, and were punished if such took place. The tax was not to be levied before the falling of the Nile. This treaty was said to be drawn up by the Mukawkis. The first work that Amr performed was to make a pontoon bridge connecting the city with the west bank of the Nile, and, having brought his forces across the river by it, he then attacked the fortress of Babylon, which did not fall until 9th April 641. An incident showing the coolness and courage of the Arab character is related as follows:—One day an Arab dismounted to say his prayers, when a party of Romans surprised him. He at once remounted and charged them, and his rashness so amazed them that they fled, throwing down their arms. The Arab chased the enemy into the fortress, then quickly returned and finished his prayers, without having touched the spoil. John of Nikiu describes the taking of that town, May 641.

Amr continued victorious in Upper Egypt and the Delta, until repulsed at Damietta, when he returned to Babylon, June 641, and reinforced his army. He then advanced on Alexandria, which capitulated November 8 of the same year, and terms of peace were finally arranged on the same lines as in the former treaty at Misr. The prisoners for the most part became Moslems, and the army shouted "Allahu Akbar!" "God is great!"

In the winter of 641–42, the Arabs spread over the country, which from the sea to the First Cataract had then fallen entirely under Moslem rule, and Amr said to them, "Go forth, now the season is gracious; when the milk curdles and the leaves wither and the mosquitoes multiply, come back to your tents." Omar desired a more central position than Alexandria for his capital; Amr therefore chose a spot to the south-east of the present town of Cairo, which he named "Fustat," to which word many meanings are given, but the usually accepted one is "The Tent," as tradition says that when he went to the conquest of Alexandria he had not removed his tent, because he would not permit the doves which were building their nests in it to be disturbed. He built a mosque near it, remains of which exist to this day. It is said to have been "a simple oblong room made of sun-dried bricks, with a low roof supported by a few columns." The Khaliph forbade the erection of a pulpit, so Amr led the prayers standing on the floor.

The city of Alexandria is described as being of such enormous size and magnificence that the Arab account must have been highly exaggerated, as it has greatly diminished in importance since the time of the Ptolemies. The male population is given as 600,000; 400 theatres and 4000 public baths are spoken of, and everything was extravagant in proportion. The general belief has been that during this time the great Public Library, dating from the time of the Ptolemies, was burnt by order of the Khaliph Omar to light the Public Bath fires. It is said that when Omar gave the command to burn the books, Amr begged that they might be spared; but Omar answered, "If they contain what is written in the Book of God, they are useless; if not, they are pernicious." It is singular that, as in the case of the first burning, no mention of this barbarous act is made by any contemporary writer, even by John of Nikiu, from whose writings so much is known of the events of that time. The first allusion to the destruction of the Library is made by two Arab writers, Abd-el-Latif and Abu-Farag, 600 years later, and few modern historians accept the legend. It seems most unlikely that the Library should have been burnt twice. It may even have never been burnt at all.

A celebrated battle was fought by Amr in 645 A.D., when he went to the assistance of the Copts at Alexandria, who had been attacked by the Romans and Armenians (called "The revolt of Manuel"). Amr's horse was shot under him, at which the army became discouraged. A Roman advanced alone and challenged an Arab, and after an hour's fighting, while both armies looked on, the Arab was victorious. The Romans fled, and were



INTERIOR OF THE MOSQUE OF AMR, OLD CAIRO.

pursued to the walls of Alexandria, which was again besieged, but fell, owing to the treachery of one of the guards. The city was then pillaged and burnt.

The government of the country was conducted in the same manner as before. There were Governors of Provinces, Deputy Governors of districts and towns, Sheykhs, or Head Men of villages, and Inspectors of Irrigation. The chief officers of State were those of War, Finance, and Justice, each department having their duties fixed by the Khaliph. The office of Kadi, or chief judge, was an important one, and was generally filled by Moslems of high standing and intellect. They were usually much beloved by the people, and administered justice impartially —in every way a contrast to the unscrupulous and ever-changing Roman governors.

The revenue of the country greatly increased under Amr, who was a just and upright man. He improved the canals, and re-opened one from Babylon to the Red Sea, so that ships could pass through it. Owing to the extension of trade, the revenue was raised to 12,000,000 dinars[1] on a population of 8,000,000. Although Amr had done so much for the country, the Khaliph Omar was not content, and transferred him to the Delta, and Abdallah-b-sa'd was made governor of Upper Egypt.

The Khaliph had many enemies, and was murdered in the mosque at Medina by a Persian slave named Abu Lulu Firiz, in 644 A.D. Omar was very simple in his habits, lived on barley-bread, dates, and water, and often slept in the open air, wearing very mean clothes. He made the pilgrimage to Mekka 9 times, and established many good laws and customs.

On the death of Omar, Abdallah was made governor of the whole of Egypt, and went on an expedition into Nubia, and, after a victory at Dongola, he concluded a treaty of peace with the Nubians in 652, and enforced the tribute called Bakht, of 360 slaves levied by Amr. In 655 the Romans again attacked Alexandria, and were completely defeated in what is called "The Battle of the Masts," owing to the enormous number of ships engaged. After this victory Egypt was free from the incursions of other foreign foes for centuries. At this time Othman was Khaliph, being the third of the Orthodox Khaliphs, and founder of the Omayyad Dynasty. He had early embraced Islam, and his succession was never questioned. He was one of those specially selected by the Prophet to preach his religion, and seems to have ruled his kingdom well. He was hated by Ayesha, the Prophet's widow, and she instigated a conspiracy which ended in his murder, 656.

[1] 1 dinar equalled 10s. 6d.

The people being dissatisfied with the much-increased taxation of 2,000,000 dinars levied by Abdallah, rose against him, and would not permit him to return to Fustat from an expedition he had made into Palestine.

Ali, the son-in-law of Mohammed, was the fourth Khaliph. He was born 600 A.D., and did not succeed to the Khaliphate till 656 A.D. A rebellion was stirred up against him by Ayesha, widow of Mohammed; but her troops were defeated, her general killed, and she herself was taken prisoner. A desperate battle was also fought near the Euphrates, after which Abu Musa, who was appointed to decide the quarrel between Ali and Moa'wiya, his opponent, deposed them both. Amr apparently agreed in this decision, but afterwards treacherously supported Moa'wiya, returned to Egypt with 15,000 followers, re-entered Fustat in July 658, and proclaimed him Khaliph. Misfortune followed Ali, and he lost Syria and Persia, as well as the cities of Mekka and Medina. He did not long survive, but was killed either by poison or the sword in 661,[1] and the schism known as the "Shia" has ever since existed among the Moslems.

Ali was the last of the so-called "Four Orthodox Khaliphs," and after his death the Khaliphate was divided. His learning was extensive, a collection of his Maxims being still extant, which are much venerated by the Moslems.

His eldest son, Hasan, abdicated after ten days, and retired to a cave near Mekka, devoting himself to the care of a mosque, the remains of which are still shown to pilgrims. The second son, Hoseyn, became governor of Damascus.

Amr ruled again as governor of Egypt until his death at the age of 90. He died possessed of great wealth, estimated at 10 tons of gold.

PART II.—THE OMAYYADS.[2]

"In light graven characters unfold
The Arab's wisdom everywhere."
BROWNING: *Sordello.*

The Khaliph Moa'wiya, originally governor of Syria, was the first of the Omayyad Dynasty of Damascus, and after the death of Amr reinstated Abdallah as governor in Egypt. After him, Otba, the Khaliph's brother, was appointed governor, but, like most of his successors, his rule was short. Maslama, who

[1] According to Suyuti, Ali was killed by the sword by Ibn Mujan, page 178.

[2] Most of this chapter, and part of chap. x., are abridged from Professor Stanley Lane-Poole's *History of Egypt in the Middle Ages.*

became governor in 667 A.D., allowed the Copts to build a church near Fustat, which greatly displeased the Moslems. The next Khaliph, Abd-el-Melik, likewise appointed his brother Abd-el-Aziz Marwan as governor in Egypt, and in 686 he bought a Coptic monastery at Tamweyh, near Helwan, where he was ordered by the doctors to use the sulphur springs, which are still highly esteemed. There he built a mosque, a pavilion of glass, and a palace with a large gilt dome, called "The Golden House," and wished to make Helwan his capital. In his time, 695 A.D., the first purely Arabic coins were struck in Egypt, with the impress of his brother, the Khaliph Abd-el-Melik.

Abd-el-Aziz was succeeded by his nephew Abdallah, who persecuted the Copts cruelly, even forbidding the use of their language in public documents, which were henceforth written in Arabic by his command. About this time a system of glass stamps was instituted for testing the correct weight of coins, and guaranteeing the standard measure of capacity. These are useful in determining chronology, as they frequently contain dates. Under the governor Kurra, 709, the amount of treasure which had been extorted from the country was so enormous that the Khaliph el Welid ordered some of the surplus to be expended on the building of mosques. In 716 the first Nilometer was built on the island of Roda, by order of Sulieman the Khaliph, while Osama-ibn-Zeyd was governor. This Osama was most rapacious and exacting, but though many of the Arab governors who followed were like him, cruel, grasping, and tyrannical, others were good and benevolent, and beloved by the people. One of them, considered to be a just and upright man, is reported to have said, "When presents come in at the door, honesty flies out of the window,"—a saying still frequently applicable in the East.

The religion of Islam at this period seems to have spread but little in Egypt; but in 732 Obeydallah, the treasurer, brought 5000 Arabs to settle in the Delta, which helped both to increase the Arab population and to make converts to their religion. The country for many years was much disturbed, as risings constantly took place between the adherents of the old dynasty of Khaliphs and the supporters of the new one.

The Omayyad Dynasty lasted 109 years. Only two of the Khaliphs had personally visited Egypt during this time—Marwan, who came to overthrow the adherents of his rival, Abdallah-ibn-Zubeyr in 684, and Marwan II., who fled to Egypt in 750, after his defeat by Salih-ibn-Ali, leader of the army of the Abbasids. Fustat was taken in the name of the new Khaliph, Es Saffah,

who was descended from Abbas, uncle of the Prophet, and was the founder of the Abbasid Dynasty in 750 A.D.

PART III.—THE ABBASIDS.

"Entranced with that place and time,
So worthy of the golden prime
Of good Haroun Alraschid."
TENNYSON: *Recollections of the Arabian Nights.*

The change of Dynasty does not seem to have caused much difference in the affairs of Egypt, as many of the former officials served in the new Government; but serious quarrels arose among the four great Mohammedan religious sects of the country—the Maliki, Shafii, Hanafi, and Hantali. In 764, owing to the distracted condition of the country, the annual pilgrimage to Mekka was forbidden.

Under the governor Musa-ibn Olayy, 767, the people were treated with great kindness. He was a good and religious man. The Turkomans had been gradually gaining power in the East, and under the Abbasids held many important posts.

The first Turk to become governor of Egypt was Abu-Salih-ibn Memdud, 779. He found the country overrun by the marauding tribe of the Keys Arabs of the Hawf; in order to put a stop to their robberies, he ordered that all doors should be left open, and if anything were stolen, he would replace it out of his own purse. Those who went to the bath could (it is said) leave their clothes without protection, only calling out, "O Abu-Salih, take care of my clothes!" Property was generally safe, but if a robber was caught he was instantly executed.

Abu-Salih made many absurd and trivial regulations with regard to dress, and the people were not sorry when he was dismissed by the Khaliph. In 782, Dihya-ibn-Musab, the Omayyad, proclaimed himself Khaliph, and was supported in his cause by the people of Upper Egypt, but was unsuccessful. Musa was the next governor, but he was so cruel that his own troops turned against him; the Arab tribes also revolted, and he was killed in 784. In 785, el-Fadl, son of the Abbasid conqueror of Egypt, summarily put down the rebellion. The usurper was executed, and his head sent to the Khaliph Harun-el-Rashid. Musa, also of the Abbasid family, was next appointed. His rule was mild though short, as it came to the knowledge of Harun-el-Rashid that he was intriguing to obtain the Khaliphate. On hearing this, Harun exclaimed,

"I will depose him, and set up the meanest creature in my court." Just then 'Omar, secretary to the Khaliph's mother, rode up on a mule, and was asked if he would like to be governor of Egypt. "Oh yes," said 'Omar, and forthwith rode on to Fustat, where he took a back seat in the court till he delivered the Khaliph's despatch to Musa. On reading it, Musa found that he was to hand over his authority to 'Omar, "the meanest creature in the court," 792.

From this time till 808, when Harun-el-Rashid died, there were several insurrections by the Hawf Arabs, who refused to pay the taxes, and plundered Egypt and Syria. The sons of Harun-el-Rashid quarrelled over the succession. One of them, el-Amin, appointed the chief of the Keys Arabs to be governor, which secured their support, and disputes were ended by the accession of el-Amin to the Khaliphate.

A few years previously, a large importation of Spanish Moslems had arrived at Alexandria, having been driven from Cordova by the Omayyad prince, el-Hakim. They were compelled to live outside the town, till, in 815, they joined the Arab tribe of Lakhm, and took Alexandria. The Khaliph el-Mamun sent Abdallah, son of the great general Tahir, to besiege the city, 826. The governor Obeydallah sent a bribe to Tahir by night of 1000 slave girls, each carrying 1000 dinars; but the offering was rejected with the utmost scorn by the general, with the words, "I would not accept your gifts by day, still less by night." After a siege of 14 days, the Spaniards were obliged to retire to Crete, where they established themselves. Ibn-Tahir was granted a large revenue and the title of "The Victorious." He proved to be a good and just governor, and encouraged learning and poetry. Ibn-Tahir restored the mosque of Amr, 827, and it is partly his work which exists to this day. It is the only building of the Arab period of that date left.

Not long after these events he was obliged to return to Persia, and the Hawf Arabs seized the opportunity to revolt again, and were for a time successful; but they were checked by the Khaliph's brother el-Mo'tasim, who went against them with 4000 Turkish troops in 829. The insurrection, however, grew so formidable, the rebels having been joined by the Copts, that the Khaliph el Mamun came in person from Baghdad, and adopted strong measures, massacring the people and burning their villages. The Copts were entirely subdued, and there was peace for some years. From this date, 832, the Mohammedan rule and religion were firmly established in Egypt.

Under Mo'tasim, who became Kaliph in 833, and his son Mutawekkil, 850, the Copts suffered cruel persecutions; their

very clothes and modes of life being subject to ridiculous petty restrictions.

During the governorship of Anbasa, 853, the Romans attacked Damietta, but, after having inflicted much damage and burnt the town, they were driven back to their ships; and to strengthen this important place, Anbasa built a fort there. The following year there was an inroad from the Sudan of the Baga tribe, who refused to send their usual tribute of "400 slaves, 2 elephants, 2 giraffes, and a number of camels," which tax had been levied by Egypt since 652. They killed many of the miners in the Emerald Mountains, and sacked several important towns in Upper Egypt. Anbasa sent to Baghdad for support, and a strong force was equipped of 7000 men under Mohammed of Kumm, as well as 7 ships laden with provisions and stores, which were despatched to 'Aydhab, on the Red Sea. When the Sudanis, under their king Ali Baba, saw the Egyptians clad in armour, with their many weapons, they dared not attack them, as they themselves wore no clothes. They therefore tried to harass the invaders by continual skirmishes. Finding these efforts were useless, they advanced to battle; but the Arab general had hung bells upon his horses, and charged with a deafening shout of "Allahu Akbar!" which caused such a panic among the enemy's camels that they fled in confusion, leaving hundreds of their dead on the field. The Sudani king made peace, and was kindly welcomed by the Egyptian general, who took him to Fustat. He afterwards visited Baghdad, and was received by the Khaliph, by whom he was permitted to return to his country. 'Anbasa remained governor 4 years more, till 856. He was the last governor of true Arab race. He was strict and upright in his official and religious duties, and was much beloved by the people. After his time, a succession of Turkish officials ruled the country, and incessant troubles arose owing to their misgovernment. Under the Khaliph Musta'in, the governor Yezid constructed the new Nilometer on the island of Roda. More severe laws were imposed on the people: women were strictly forbidden to walk in the streets; punishment and imprisonment followed the slightest offences, and it is not to be wondered that the whole country was once more in a turmoil, which continued until the appointment of Ibn-Tūlūn in 868.

IBN-TŪLŪN.

This remarkable man was the son of a Turkish slave, of the tribe of Taghazghan, who had been sent with others to the

Khaliph el Mamun from the governor of Bukkara in 815. These slaves were held in great esteem by the Khaliph, and often had especial privileges granted to them. They were famed for their handsome appearance and bravery, and were called "Mamluks," or "White Slaves." Their position both in Egypt and at Baghdad had been gradually growing in importance. They were highly educated, spoke Arabic, studied the Koran, and embraced Mohammedanism. Ahmad-ibn-Tūlūn, born 835, was well fitted for the post of deputy governor, having studied at Tarsus and Baghdad as well as training himself in military matters at Samarra. He went to Egypt in 868. His mother had married the Emir Bakbak, who was then absentee governor of Egypt, and he appointed Ibn-Tūlūn his deputy. He began his rule in a just and able manner, and although very poor, refused all bribes, but accepted a loan to defray the expenses of the government. The treasurer, Ibn-Mudebbir, lived in great state, and had a guard of 100 slaves beautifully dressed and mounted. He sent an offering of 10,000 dinars to Ibn-Tūlūn, which the latter returned with disdain, but said he would accept the slaves instead, with which request the treasurer had to comply.

Soon after Ibn-Tūlūn's arrival, Bakbak was beheaded, and Barkuk was appointed in his place. Ibn-Tūlūn had married the daughter of Barkuk, and full power was given to him by his father-in-law, so that he held absolute sway in Egypt; he ousted his former enemies in the Government, the treasurer Ibn-Mudebbir being sent to Syria. With a strong hand Ibn-Tūlūn put down a formidable rising among the Alids in 869, both at Alexandria and in Upper Egypt, near Esneh, and they were obliged to seek refuge in the Oasis. He was requested to appear before the new Khaliph at Samarra, but finding out that it was simply a ruse of his enemies to try to get him into trouble, he sent his secretary, Ahmad-el-Wasit, with gifts and tribute, which increased his importance. Ibn-Tūlūn found the palace of Fustat was not large enough for his suite; he therefore built a splendid one near the Mukattam Hills, not far from the palace of "The Dome of the Air," and formed a new suburb round it, called the Katai, extending for a mile square, having beautiful gardens, a racecourse, menagerie, and magnificent baths. He also built the famous mosque which bears his name to this day, and is one of the most interesting specimens of architecture in Egypt, having pointed arches which are quite 200 years earlier than any other known example. The plaster-work, which is very fine, is of a Byzantine character. The minaret has an outside winding staircase, the story of the

design of which is worth repeating, though more probably it was copied from a similar one which exists at Samarra.[1] It is said that, being reproved by his vizier for idly winding a strip of paper round his finger, Ibn-Tūlūn replied, "So far from trifling, I have been thinking that a minaret erected on this principle would have many advantages; I could even ride up it on horseback, and I wish that of my new mosque to be built of the same form." The architect, who was a Copt, had a sum of over 100,000 dinars (£53,000) given him for building the mosque, besides a pension for life. The similarity in the work found in the Coptic churches, monasteries, and convents which abounded throughout the land, to that in the new mosques and palaces which the Arabs delighted to build, shows how much Christian artists were employed by their conquerors. The so-called "Arab" or "Saracen" art was in a great measure adopted from other countries. The history of this art in Egypt centres in Cairo, for most of the money extorted from the Copts and fellahîn of the Nile Valley was lavished in the adornment of the new and ever-growing capital. Ibn-Tūlūn also repaired the Nilometer, and re-opened the canal to Alexandria. In spite of this large expenditure on public works, and his generous gifts to the poor, the revenue of the country seems to have increased considerably. Ibn-Tūlūn lived in great magnificence and almost royal state, and el-Muwaffak, the brother of the Khaliph, was jealous of his greatness and raised an army against him; but it failed to advance beyond Rakka. Two attacks from Upper Egypt and Barka failed likewise.

In April 878, Ibn-Tūlūn marched to Damascus, where he was received with honour. He continued to make a triumphal progress through Syria, except at Antioch and Tarsus, where he met with opposition for a time. The dominion of Egypt now extended from the Euphrates to Barka on the Mediterranean, and Aswân on the Nile. On his return to Fustat in 880, Tūlūn made a new coinage and added his own name to that of the Khaliph. During his absence, his son el-Abbas tried to usurp his place, and collected a number of followers, but retreated on hearing of his father's return. Ibn-Tūlūn tried to restrain his son's ambition, but failed, and el-Abbas laid siege to Tripoli and parts of North Africa. After two years he was taken prisoner, many of his supporters were killed, and he was banished for life. Meantime el-Muwaffak had become a very powerful prince in Mesopotamia; he threatened both his brother the Khaliph el-Mo'temid, and Ibn-Tūlūn, bribing Lulu, a commander of the Egyptian army, to join him,

[1] See Lane-Poole, *Mediæval Cities*, "Cairo."

and so far succeeded that Mo'temid, who had tried to take refuge with Ibn-Tūlūn, was taken prisoner and sent to Samarra, 882.

Muwaffak's name was erased from the coins in Egypt and Syria, and omitted from the Friday "bidding prayers"; his deposition was also proclaimed by order of the governor; but all this had little effect upon him, and in his turn he caused Ibn-Tūlūn to be denounced from every pulpit. In 883, Ibn-Tūlūn made an attempt to take the city of Mekka, but his army was defeated. Afterwards he successfully fought the armies of the Byzantine Empire near Tarsus, returning with valuable spoil. Fortune again deserted him, as, owing to the unusually severe winter, he lost the greater part of his troops when besieging Adhana, and Ibn-Tūlūn retired to Antioch much exhausted by the campaign. He was taken ill there after a surfeit of buffalo-milk, and was carried to Fustat. His doctors were terribly afraid of him, as, when he did not find himself getting better, he had them either severely punished, beheaded, or beaten to death; but in spite of this he died in 884. Although occasionally cruel, Ibn-Khallikan describes him as being a "generous prince, just, brave, and pious, an able ruler and unerring judge of character." Ibn-Tūlūn left "10,000,000 dinars in the treasury, 10,000 mounted Mamluks, 24,000 slaves of the guard, 300 horses, thousands of mules, asses, and camels, and 100 ships of war"; and in every way he advanced the greatness of Egypt. He left a numerous family. The eldest son having been sent into banishment, his second son, Abu-l-Geysh Khumaraweyh, succeeded his father at the age of 20. He was of a quiet nature, utterly inexperienced in governmental affairs.

His forces in Syria were at once opposed, and Muwaffak sent his son Abu-l-Abbas to attack Khumaraweyh, near Ramla. It was the first battle he had seen, and he was so terrified that he ran away from his army and fled back to Egypt. His old commander, Sa'd-el-A'sar, after looking vainly for his leader, gathered together the remaining troops and marched to Damascus, which he took, proclaiming himself ruler, and sending the news to Egypt. Khumaraweyh returned with a large force, retook Damascus, and thus regained his character for courage and bravery. He fought several battles in Syria and Mesopotamia, and his authority was recognised by the Khaliph and the people, who gave him presents of money, clothes, and arms, and he concluded a peace which was to last 30 years. Muwaffak died in 891, and his brother the Khaliph Mo'temid in 892.

In 886, Egypt was visited by a fearful earthquake, which destroyed many buildings and killed numbers of people. Khumaraweyh offered his daughter Katr-en-Neda, or "Dew-drop," to the son of the new Khaliph Mo'tadid, who, however, married her himself, though, she being only 10 years old, the ceremony was delayed till 895. The presents were magnificent, including a large sum of money, coffers of jewels, jewelled waistbands, gold mortars in which to mix precious perfumes, and many other costly gifts. On her way from Egypt to Baghdad the bride rested each night in a splendid palace specially prepared for her. The extravagance and luxury of Khumaraweyh knew no bounds; his gardens were planted with flowers arranged in designs and floral mottoes, with rare specimens of trees "set in gilded tanks of water." "He had likewise an aviary of beautiful birds," and his "golden house" contained portraits of himself and his ladies, which was quite contrary to the Mohammedan practice. In order to promote sleep, his bed was filled with air, "fastened by silken cords to silver columns," and floated on a "lake of quicksilver," remains of which have since been dug out by the natives. A tame lion watched beside him through the night. Another beautiful palace on the spur of the Mokattam Hills was built and occupied by him; it was called "The Castle of the Ram."

Khumaraweyh was murdered at Damascus in 896, owing to intrigues in his palace, and was buried at Cairo. His eldest son, Abu-l-Asakir Geysh, only 14 years old, succeeded him, but his cruelties and follies were so excessive, that, after having murdered three uncles and committed various other crimes, he was himself murdered by his soldiers, and his young brother Abu-Musa Harun took his place, with Ibn-Abali as regent. He proved to be a man of no experience, and the countries of both Egypt and Syria became disorganised, and the Khaliph was obliged to send out an army under Mohammed-ibn-Suleyman to restore order. Harun having advanced to meet him as far as Bilbeys, was there murdered in his bed by his uncle Sheyban, son of Ibn-Tūlūn. Sheyban retired to Misr, where he took the government into his own hands, but he was followed up by the Khaliph's troops, and was soon obliged to surrender, and the beautiful town which Ibn-Tūlūn had built, with its great houses and courtyards, its covered streets, its palaces and bazaars, was nearly all destroyed.

Thus ended the race of Ibn-Tūlūn in 905, which had lasted 37 years, a period marked in the history of Egypt as one of great wealth and importance.

THE IKHSHĪD.

Naturally, after the death of these two boys and their incompetent regents, the country continued very disturbed. The same year a young man, Mohammed-el-Khalangi, raised a small following in Syria. He took up the cause of Ibrahim, a son of Khumaraweyh, and led his troops against Isa, the governor, at Fustat. Here he was successful, and entered the city in September 905, proclaiming from the mosque the names of Muktefi as Khaliph, Ibrahim as governor, and himself as deputy. The people were so rejoiced that one of Tūlūn's race should return to them, that they "painted themselves and their horses yellow." There was no money in the treasury, because Isa had removed it; but by various means Khalangi obtained enough to keep the country for 8 months. His short reign was ended by the Khaliph, who refused to recognise his authority, and sent a strong force to Fustat, where he was taken prisoner, carried to Baghdad, and made to ride in disgrace through the city on a camel to his execution, May 906.

The Aghlabids, once a great and powerful race of North Africa, fled to Egypt in 909 in consequence of the rising power of the Fatimids. In 913–14, Khubasa, the Fatimid general, who was joined by el-Kaim, son of the first Fatimid Khaliph, el-Mahdi, advanced to Alexandria, which surrendered to him, and he occupied the country as far as the Fayûm. The ruling Khaliph, el-Muktedir, having sent troops from Baghdad, the Fatimids were defeated. After 5 years there was a second attack, when they seized Alexandria and destroyed the city. The Khaliph had only 20 ships to send against 85 of the enemy's, but although at such disadvantage they were able to burn the Fatimid ships with naphtha and take their crews prisoners to Fustat. Dukas, the Greek leader of the Egyptian army, at this time died, and was succeeded by Tekin, who had many difficulties to contend against; but at last, in 920, the Fatimids were forced to retire to Barbary. Tekin, owing to the unsettled state of the country, was deposed, and again re-elected governor four times, but he restored peace at last shortly before his death in 933. In 934, Egypt again suffered from a terrible earthquake, and a remarkable shower of meteors occurred.

The governor who now came to the rescue of the country was of an ancient Turkish family. His name was Mohammed-ibn-Tughg, with the title of "The Ikhshid." He had served in the army under Tekin, was made governor of Damascus in 930, was publicly proclaimed governor at Fustat in 933, but was not sent to Egypt by the Khaliph Radi till 935. His entrance was

opposed by Madarai the treasurer, who, however, was entirely overcome at Farama, and the Ikhshid took possession of the country. He was a man of great strength both of body and mind, and ruled Egypt with such ability that no rebellions took place during his reign of 11 years.

The power of the Khaliph of Baghdad was waning, the governors of the various provinces of his empire were almost independent, and were beginning to encroach on the Ikhshid's other province of Syria. Some severe battles were fought, in one of which the Ikhshid's brother was killed, 940. The Emir Ibn-Raik was so distressed at the event, that he sent his son as an offering to the Ikhshid, who, instead of killing him, sent him back laden with gifts, and the young man soon afterwards married the daughter of his preserver, peace was made, and the Khaliph confirmed him in the hereditary possession of Egypt and Syria. But in 945 troubles again arose, and the Ikhshid was obliged to send a large force against the Hamdanids, the revolted governors of Mesopotamia, near Aleppo. He was unsuccessful, and afterwards found it advisable to give back the country to the Hamdanids, retaining only the city of Damascus, for which he agreed to pay an annual tribute to the chief Seyf-ed-Dawla.

He built a palace in Cairo, called "The Garden of Kafur" (Camphor), and took great interest in irrigation works. He encouraged poetry and literature. A contemporary historian, Masudi, gives but a poor account of Egypt and its people, but describes the cutting of the canal in September and its closing on the 10th January, the "Night of the Bath," as imposing ceremonies enlivened with music and dancing, illuminations and other festivities. Masudi also mentions that, while searching for treasure, the people found "only caves and vaults full of statues which were made of bones and dust"—which evidently must have been mummies. With all his strength of character, the Ikhshid was a timid man, fearful of assassination, against which he took many precautions. He died at Damascus in 946, and was buried at Jerusalem.

KĀFŪR.

The Ikhshid's two sons, Abu-el-Kasim Ungur and Abu-el-Ali, who succeeded him from 946 to 965, were both young, and were not allŏwed to interefere with the government, which was carried on by Abu-el-Misk Kafur, whom their father had appointed as guardian. Kafur was originally an Abyssinian slave bought for less than ten pounds. He, however, managed

the country well, and extended the power of Egypt to Aleppo, concluding an advantageous peace in 947 with the Hamdanids in Syria, and also with Nubia in 963. He was clever and cunning, and lived in extraordinary luxury, eating and drinking, and spending vast sums on musicians, painters, and poets, whose verses full of flattery still exist. He ruled for 22 years, and died in 968. During his reign a fire destroyed the greater part of Fustat, and a severe earthquake also did much damage.

After Kafur's death the officers of the Court elected a boy of 11 years old, Ahmad, a grandson of Ikhshid, to be governor, and distributed the offices of state amongst themselves, ignoring the authority of the Khaliph. Evidently the pigeon post had been in use for some years, as we find mention of a certain "Samuel, the former director of the pigeon post."

Hoseyn, a cousin of the Ikhshid's, now installed himself as governor, but his rule was a very short one, as it ended with the entry of the Fatimids into Fustat in 969.

Since the invasion of Egypt by the Moslems in 639, there had been but few men remarkable for learning, as the country had been so frequently in a state of ferment. Ibn-Tūlūn, the Ikhshid, and Kafur were the only governors who were able to encourage literature and art. No Arab college or university had yet been thought of, and in this respect Egypt was far behind other Moslem nations.

PART IV.—THE FATIMIDS.

"The countless gifts, the stately walls,
The royal palaces and halls,
All filled with gold.
Plate with armorial bearings wrought,
Chambers with ample treasures fraught
Of wealth untold."
LONGFELLOW'S TRANSLATION: *Colpas de Maurique.*

The Alids, or Fatimids, of North Africa were now the ruling power. They were not so much looked upon as conquerors by the sword as leaders in religious matters. The religion of Mohammed had spread during the last 300 years over the whole of the East, and with it had spread the political power of its followers. The Fatimids claimed their descent from Ali and Fatima, the son-in-law and daughter of the Prophet, and his grandson Hoseyn who was killed was looked upon by them as the greatest of martyrs. They taught that there was always some one in whom divine power was incarnate, and called him

the Imam, and expected an Imam to return as "Mahdi,"[1] or Messiah. The Alids believe that though invisible the Mahdi is always in their midst, and whenever one man more clever than his fellows appears, they proclaim him "Mahdi" to this day. One of the most remarkable of these false Prophets arose in 908, when a missionary from Berber, named Abu-Abdallah-esh-Shii, took up the cause of the Alids with great energy, and proclaimed Obeydallah as Imam from the great mosque which still exists in the holy city of Kayrawan, in Tunisia. Some believed him to be a true descendant from Ali, others thought him an impostor. Those who believed and advocated the unorthodox views were called Shiites. Obeydallah was a cruel persecutor, and subdued the province by main force, and founded the Fatimid Dynasty, making himself Khaliph of Morocco in 911. He ruled with great severity till 934, when he was succeeded by his son Abu-el-Kasim, with the title of "Khaliph-el-Kaim," who made three unsuccessful expeditions into Egypt. His position in Morocco and Barbary was very insecure owing to constant insurrections, and it was not until 7 years later, when the Khaliph el-Mansur was in power, that the country again became quiet. At his death in 953 he was succeeded by el-Moizz, who was a man of great ability, knowing many languages, and having a cultivated taste for all kinds of literature. One of his first acts was to visit every province in his dominions, subduing by conciliation many rebellious tribes, settling disputes in an amicable manner, and bestowing favours on those who proved loyal. He appointed a Byzantine slave, Gawhar, as secretary, although he usually answered all letters with his own hand. He lived a simple, strict life, having but one wife, which practice he tried to recommend to his people. El Moizz had long been preparing to undertake the conquest of Egypt, and in 969 sent a powerful army under Gawhar, his late secretary, and now his general, to Alexandria. The city capitulated, the governor being appalled by the great force sent against him, and Gawhar accepted his submission. The conqueror then marched on to Fustat, but there the people refused to surrender without a struggle, and a fierce engagement took place, in which Gawhar was victorious. With his usual clemency, he granted conciliatory terms to all who submitted, and the Fatimid army entered the city in a peaceable and orderly manner. Gawhar at once began to build a suitable residence for the Fatimid Khaliph near Fustat, as the old ones both there and in Katai had fallen into decay; this new capital was called "el-Kahira," or Cairo, the "Triumphant." Astrologers were consulted as to the most propitious moment to

[1] See page 7, "Sudan."

lay the foundations; but their predictions were disturbed by a raven alighting on one of the ropes and setting in motion some bells intended to be rung at the moment indicated by the wise men. The labourers commenced the building at this signal, and though it was an unlucky incident, the work had to be continued.

The chief architectural features of this period were the "gami," or large mosques, where great congregations gathered on Fridays, and where the "ulema," or learned doctors, taught the principles of Islam. They were large colonnaded spaces. Sometimes portions were domed, but the dome so characteristic of Eastern buildings was not then an essential part of a mosque but was only placed as a canopy on those buildings which contained the founder's tomb or were family mausoleums. Small domed buildings are a constant feature in Egyptian landscapes, and these cover the sepulchre of some local saint or "weli,"[1] and are often places of pilgrimage. Smaller mosques, called "mesjid," were also built by the Fatimids, but none are standing now, those in existence being of a later date. Of the great gami, that of el-Azhar, "The Resplendent," built in 972, is the most famous. It was at first the chief school of Shia'ism, but ever since then it has been the great Mohammedan university of Egypt, and students have flocked to it from all parts of the world.[2]

Many improvements were introduced by the new governor. He altered the forms of prayer used both in the mosques and from the minarets to the formulas prescribed by the Shia faith, and these were continued for 200 years. Order was established, and peace prevailed; but a terrible famine and plague visited the land, 969, and caused great distress for more than two years.

The power of the Fatimid Khaliph was now fully recognised throughout the East, as the holy cities of Mekka and Medina had proclaimed his authority from their mosques. Outbreaks took place in Syria, and Hoseyn, the late governor of Egypt, still held Ramla, so Gafar was sent in command of the army by Gawhar against the rebels; he took Hoseyn, brought him to Cairo, and sent him to prison in Barbary with all his family. Hasan-ibn-Ahmad, leader of the Karmatis of Northern Syria, organised also a serious revolt; he was assisted by the prince of Irak and others, and marched against Damascus, where they were victorious, and the Fatimid general Gafar was killed. Hasan proceeded to Egypt, having several skirmishes on his way, and in October 971 approached Cairo, which Gawhar had

[1] See page 7.

[2] See page 295.

strongly fortified. He laid siege to the city, and after two months entered it; but his success was short-lived, as he was entirely routed, and fled by night, leaving all his baggage in the enemy's hands. Hasan, however, was but temporarily subdued, and Gawhar begged the Khaliph Moizz to come in person to establish his supremacy.

After settling some disturbances in his country, and appointing a regent, Moizz arrived at Alexandria in May 972, and in June reached Fustat, where he was received with great joy by Gawhar, who from that day retired from the government. Moizz was accompanied by all his family, and the coffins of his ancestors were carried before him. He entered the capital by the new bridge which Gawhar had made, and "fell on his face and gave thanks to God." Some of the Sherifs questioned his descent from Ali, whereupon Moizz called all the people to appear before him, and, half drawing his sword, scattered gold amongst them, saying, "Here is my pedigree, there is my proof." The people had to be satisfied with this explanation, and loaded him with costly gifts of horses, camels, gold, jewels, swords, and specimens of all the best products of Egypt. Moizz performed the service in the mosque on the feast of "Id," the first day of Bairam. He was accompanied with much state and splendour; his four sons dressed in armour attended him, and the address he gave on the occasion touched the hearts of all the people. The bones of his ancestors were buried in a mausoleum near the mosque of el-Azhar, where he was accustomed to read prayers on Fridays as "Prince and Precentor of the Faithful." The gorgeous splendour of the palaces of Moizz, and his enormous wealth, as recorded by historians, are almost beyond belief. He ordered a piece of silk representing a map of the world to be made in Persia, which cost 22,000 dinars; and many beautiful objects still in existence bear Fatimid inscriptions. Among these are the rock-crystal vase at St. Mark's in Venice, and a celebrated ivory casket at Bayeux. Literature flourished, and the historian el-Kindi wrote at this time. Portrait painting, although abhorrent to orthodox Moslems, was also encouraged by Moizz. His wife built a mosque called el-Karafa, and in it, Makrizi says, was a picture of Joseph in the pit.

The manufactures of Egypt were very wonderful: exquisite silks were made at Alexandria and Cairo, woollen stuffs at Behnesa, and an iridescent material called *bukalamun*, used for making saddle-cloths, was woven in the country. The arts of making pottery and glass were brought to the greatest perfection. A new covering for the Kaaba at Mekka was designed and wrought in silk in Egypt, the finest and largest ever made, and

the sight of it impressed the people with a sense of the majesty and piety of the Khaliph. Besides encouraging arts and manufactures, Moizz added 600 ships to the fleet which he already possessed, and with them brought back vast spoils and many prisoners from Sicily and Spain. He built a port at Maks, now called Bulak, the present port of Cairo, and largely increased his army.

In 974, Hasan, the Karmati leader, again attacked Moizz, and drove his troops into the city of Cairo, where they would have been starved had not Moizz bribed Hasan's ally, a Bedawin chief, with a large quantity of false money to desert him. The troops fled after a battle; Moizz pursued them, massacring nearly all. He then despatched 10,000 men into Syria, where they at length subdued the unruly Karmatis, two of whose leaders were caught and sent in a wooden cage to Egypt. Moizz lived only two years in Cairo, but some of his reforms were of lasting benefit, and his deeds were marked by justice and benevolence. The country became prosperous, and even the Copts were allowed to live in peace. Frequent quarrels occurred as now between the Shias and the Sunnis, especially on the 10th of Moharram, the anniversary of the martyrdom of Hoseyn, son of Ali and Fatima, on which day the Alids visited the tombs of their saints.

Moizz died in 975, in the 45th year of his age, and left a dominion which extended from Egypt to Syria, North Africa and Sicily, and a name of lasting renown.

El-Aziz succeeded his father in 975, and was proclaimed Khaliph in 976. He inherited his father's good qualities, being just and wise. He was strong, handsome, and courageous, with fair hair and blue eyes, much beloved by his people, and was considerate both to Jews and Copts. He married a Christian lady, whose two brothers were Melekite Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem. He encouraged controversial discussions between Christians and Moslems, and was of so gentle and forgiving a nature, that when the Turkish leader Aftegin who had fought against him fiercely in Syria, was brought to him a captive, he commended his bravery, gave him presents, and placed him in an honourable position at Court. A converted Jew, Ibn-Killis, who had previously served his father Moizz, was made Wezîr by el-Aziz, and was equally faithful to him. He showed such skill in the management of the country, that the revenue increased, and Egypt enjoyed a greater state of prosperity than it had known for some years. This excited so much jealousy among the Moslems, that the Khaliph was obliged to yield to popular prejudice and remove Ibn-Killis from his post.

He was, however, quickly restored, as it was found that affairs of government could not be managed without him. He lived in state equal to that of the Khaliph, had a splendid palace fortified as a castle, possessed enormous wealth, and was surrounded by the greatest luxury and culture; his physician el-Temimi, his librarian Shabushti, and the poet Abu-Rakamah, flourished under his patronage. One of his favourite amusements was flying his carrier-pigeons against those of the Khaliph. When Ibn-Killis died in 991, the Khaliph el-Aziz followed his funeral, riding simply upon a mule. He mourned him as a son, and read prayers over his grave, and for many days entertained no guests at his palace; but food was distributed by slave-girls to the poor and to the mourners at the tomb of the Wezîr. The wealth of el-Aziz was even greater than that of his father Moizz, and his mode of life more magnificent. He surrounded himself with a Turkish bodyguard. He delighted in jewels, gorgeous robes, and splendid gold and coloured silk turbans, some of which were 60 yards long, and made in the royal looms at Debik. He had costly armour inlaid with gold, and also loved sweet perfumes. Choice foods for the table came from afar, and rare animals were imported for his menagerie. He caused several beautiful mosques to be constructed, as well as bridges and canals. He was strict in his religious observances, and was the first Khaliph to introduce state processions to the mosques each Friday in Ramadan. He looked carefully into minor details of forms and ceremonies, and took a keen interest in astrology. El-Aziz was likewise a poet, and addressed satirical verses to the Omayyad Khaliph of Cordova, but received the following reply: "You ridicule us because you have heard of us; if we had ever heard of you, we should reply."[1] In 997, Ibn-Zulak wrote a history of the Kadis, and mentions many learned men, especially the great Kadi-en-Noman, who lived at this time. During the 21 years of the reign of Aziz, 975–996, Egypt enjoyed internal peace, though troubles had sometimes arisen in Africa and Syria; but the country was in a flourishing condition when he died suddenly in his bath at Bilbeys, 996.

El-Hakim was the only son of el-Aziz and his Christian wife. He was 11 years old at the time of his father's death, and was climbing a fig tree when the emir Bargawan brought him the news. He was at once dressed in state robes and presented to the people, who acknowledged him as their ruler. He remained under the control of Bargawan, who was made regent. But Bargawan grew indolent and self-indulgent, living in his beautiful house called the "Pearl Palace." A street in Cairo still bears

[1] Lane-Poole, page 123.

his name. Hakim soon showed his wicked nature, and had his guardian murdered, which cruel act greatly enraged the people, and they threatened him in his palace. Hakim grew more and more strange: he turned night into day, loving to prowl about unattended in the dark; all business was transacted after sunset, when the shops were opened and illuminated; women were not allowed to walk in the streets, or even to appear on the roofs of their houses, and none were seen in public for 7 years. Strict rules were laid down as to food and drink, beer and wine were forbidden, and the vines were destroyed; no games were allowed. All dogs found in the streets were to be killed. And any person who disobeyed these rules was either tortured or put to death. All the Khaliph's ministers, whether Christians, Jews, or Moslems, met with the same fate, and for the least offence against him, or for a mere whim, were degraded or assassinated without mercy. These and other tyrannical measures were felt throughout the dominions, but more especially at Cairo. Notwithstanding all his cruelties and caprice, Hakim was occupied in building noble mosques, in which he read prayers and strictly enforced religious duties. One called after him is still standing, and contains the Museum of Saracenic Art. He also founded a Hall of Science (Dar-el-Ilm, or Dar-el-Hikma) in 1005 A.D., where he formed a fine library, and encouraged the study of theology and science in the schools, which were free to all, and produced many men of learning. Although the perpetrator of horrible cruelties, he was not wanting in courage, and continued his early habits of wandering about at night unattended, and it is strange that for 25 years no attempt was made on his life; perhaps this was owing to the spies, both male and female, of whom a large number were employed by him. In 1013 the people began to rebel against his implacable rule, and disturbances were frequent. Hakim next proclaimed himself to be divine, and a serious religious rising began in 1018, stirred up by two men, Hasan and Hamza, who came from Persia and supported the supposed Imam. Both these fanatics were killed in 1020 by the infuriated populace for setting forth this false teaching; but Darazi, one of the chief leaders of the new sect, was hidden by Hakim in his palace, who refused to give him up. Darazi escaped to Syria, where he founded the religion still followed by the Druses of the Lebanon.

Hakim accepted the divine title given him by Hasan, issued less rigid religious formulas, and relaxed the laws against Christians, who were now allowed to restore their churches and worship in them. At length Seyyidet-el-Mulk, the sister of Hakim, could no longer endure to witness the cruelties perpe-

trated by her brother, and joined with the Berber chiefs in a rising organised by them to protect the country and the rightful heir Zahir, son of Hakim, whom the Khaliph had put aside for Abd-er-Rahman, a great-grandson of the Fatimid Mahdi Obeydallah. This revolt ended abruptly, as, on the 13th February 1021, Hakim was at last killed during one of his solitary rides among the mountains. His dead ass and his clothes were discovered, but his body was never found, so that a mystery remained as to its fate. The Druses still believe that he will one day return in his divine character and reign again.

The Princess Seyyidet-el-Mulk governed the country for 4 years as regent to her nephew Zahir, a boy of 16, who had been proclaimed Khaliph in 1021. She caused the Berber chief who had assisted her to be assassinated, and disposed of several others who stood in her way. She died in 1025, and Zahir became utterly foolish and selfish, and left the government in the hands of a worthless set of courtiers, who had no authority and neglected the country, which gradually became poorer. Failure of the Nile inundation, loss of cattle and the restrictions imposed by the late Khaliph on trade, caused famine and scarcity throughout the land, and the people starving in the streets called out, "Hunger! Hunger! O Commander of the Faithful! It was not thus under your father and grandfather!"[1] Serious riots occurred; but fortunately in 1027 a high Nile caused abundant crops and brought relief. A treaty was made with the Emperor Constantine VIII., in which he acknowledged Zahir as Khaliph, and obtained leave from him to restore the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem. Zahir committed almost as many fearful atrocities as his father. He died of the plague in 1036.

Ma'add, his son, succeeded to the Khaliphate at the age of 7 years, under the title of "el-Mustansir." His mother had been a Sudani slave bought from a Jew named Abu Said, whom she retained as her assistant when she assumed the reins of government as regent to her son. She got rid of all the former officials, and after many changes made Yazuri Grand Wezîr, which post he held for 8 years, Abu Said having been murdered in 1044.

At this time the Berber chiefs became very powerful, and possessed the whole country of North Africa, so that little was left to the Fatimids except Egypt. An account of Cairo at that time has been preserved in the writings of Nasir-i-Khusrau, a Persian philosopher and traveller. The city was named Kahira-el-Moizziya, and contained 20,000 houses, principally

[1] Lane-Poole, page 135.

made of brick, and 5 or 6 storeys in height. These were let for about £70 a year, and a single upper storey let for 5 dinars, or about £3 a month; both houses and shops were the property of the Khaliph, and brought in an income of £650,000 per annum. Each house had its own grounds, and there were besides large public gardens and a beautiful lake called "Birket-el-Habash," about which the poet Ibn-Said writes: "O Lake of the Abyssinians, where my day was one long spell of happy peace; so that Heaven seemed on thy bosom, and all my time a joyous feast!" Na'sir also describes the lamps made of delicate transparent green glass, as well as very fine pottery with a beautiful metallic lustre made at Fustat. All goods were sold at a fixed price, and if shopkeepers cheated, "they were put on a camel and paraded through the streets, ringing a bell and confessing their fault. . . . All the tradespeople rode donkeys, which were on hire in every street to the number of 50,000, only the soldiers rode horses." It was indeed a splendid city, and its wealthy inhabitants surrounded themselves with every luxury and with rare and costly works of art. The Khaliph Mustansir usually rode about among his people plainly dressed, but on occasions of state, such as the cutting of the canal, great pomp was observed, and crowds of people of all nations were present. The Wezîr, Yazuri, originally of humble birth, proved himself a wise governor. He had done wonders in restoring tranquillity to the country, and encouraged learning and the arts, especially painting. Unfortunately, in 1050, a low Nile caused a famine and great distress in the land, and application had to be made to the Emperor Constantine (Monomachus) for a supply of corn; but his death in 1055 made a great difference to Egypt, as his widow Theodora, who succeeded him, imposed conditions very difficult to comply with. The Byzantines were not favourable to the Fatimids, but supported the Orthodox Abbasid Khaliph of Baghdad and his ally the Selguk Sultan, and prayed for him in the mosques at Constantinople. The name "Selguk" is derived from the name of the grandfather of Tughril Bey, the first Sultan. Yazuri took advantage of a high Nile to lay in stores of grain, but unfortunately he became too exacting and severe, turned against the Copts, and made many enemies. He was thought to be intriguing with Baghdad, and fell a victim to poison in 1058. After his death everything went wrong; no one could be found to manage the country, and there were 40 Wezîrs in 9 years. Mustansir had no one on whom he could depend, and threatened to retire from the government and adopt a religious life. He appears, however, to have changed his mind, and continued to live instead in

indolence and luxury. He had much kindness of heart, and gave large sums to the poor, saying, "Poverty is a sore diet, and want bows the neck. . . . What we possess will be spent, what is given to God lasts for ever."

In 1062 an outbreak which had long been brewing between the Sudani and Turkish troops began, and the Turkish leader Nasir-ed-Dawla took money from the treasury, and ignored the authority of the Khaliph. But he went too far; his followers resented his behaviour, and he was deposed. The Mustansir having placed himself at the head of his troops, Nasir-ed-Dawla was defeated, and the Sudanis were driven back to Upper Egypt. The Lewata Berbers had possession of the Delta, therefore the authority of the Khaliph was confined to the limits of Cairo. The Sudanis stopped all supplies, and the capital was reduced to a state of famine, worse than had ever been known before, which lasted seven years. No bread or food of any sort could be purchased even by the wealthiest, and people died in hundreds of starvation and the plague.

The wonderful Library collected by former rulers was dispersed or destroyed by the Turks, who also plundered the marvellous treasures which are related by Makrizi to have belonged to the Khaliph Mustansir. The inventory of these "reads like a fable in the Thousand and One Nights": vases of gold, silver, and crystal, jewels of enormous value, gold peacocks with eyes of rubies and enamelled feathers; silks and embroideries; tapestries and the embroidered silk carpet representing a map of the world made for Moizz; tents made of gold thread and supported on silver columns, and magnificent state barges; all these and many more made a total which exceeds belief. The Khaliph, stripped of all his wealth which had been accumulating for many generations, was so reduced by misfortunes, that he was forced to make terms with the Turks, and was found in his palace subsisting on two loaves a day, sent to him by a charitable lady. His wife and daughters took refuge in Baghdad in 1070.

Nasir-ed-Dawla was assassinated in 1073, and in this year a high Nile again saved the country from actual ruin. The Turks had become so overbearing, that Mustansir sent for Bedr-el-Gemali, governor of Akka, to assist him to expel them. Bedr responded to this appeal, and arrived in February 1074 with his Syrian troops. The Turks, ignorant of their intentions, made them welcome; but before the next morning every Turkish general had fallen a victim to the Syrian officers, who cut off their heads and brought them to Bedr to show that his orders had been obeyed. After this summary action peace was re-

stored, and the Khaliph loaded Bedr with gifts. He at once set about re-establishing order, and soon filled the treasury with money and the country with plenty, so that the last days of Mustansir's life were spent in ease and comfort at home, though constant disturbances took place in Syria.

Bedr built in Cairo a fine new city wall and three gates, the "Bab-en-Nasr," "Bab-el-Futuh," and "Bab-Zawila," which remain to this day, and are supposed to have been constructed by natives of Edessa. They are in a style used by the Crusaders in Palestine, and called "Templar"; it is a mixture of Byzantine and Saracenic. Bedr remained for 20 years as Wezîr in Egypt, maintaining order and with a firm hand controlling both Khaliph and people. He died in 1094, aged 80, and Mustansir the following December in his 68th year, having reigned 60 years and 4 months, a longer period than any former Khaliph.

Bedr was succeeded as Wezîr by his son el-Afdal (Shahanshah), who placed Mustali, the youngest of the 7 sons of Mustansir, upon the throne, thinking that a lad of 18 would be more easily guided than his eldest brother Nizar, who was 50. Nizar was imprisoned, and never again heard of, but some of the people looked upon him as an Imam, and expected him to reappear at some future time. During the reign of Mustali the power of the Selguks had been increasing in the East. They had subdued Persia, and their leader Tughril Bey, brother of the Sultan Melik Shah, was proclaimed in the mosques of Baghdad in 1095. Their great aim was to conquer Egypt and put an end to the Fatimid rule and Shia creed, being themselves strict Sunnis. They captured Damascus, which never again belonged to Egypt. Mustali died in 1101, and his son el-Amir, a child of 5, succeeded him. El-Afdal, the Wezîr, used to ride through Cairo with the child in front of his saddle, and the people acknowledged him as Khaliph. Until the boy came of age, Afdal managed the country; his rule was wise and just, and he proved a worthy successor of his great father, the Wezîr Bedr. Afdal lived in constant dread of invasion from the east by the Selguks, though after the death of Melik Shah and his brother they were not so much to be feared, as they had many internal disputes about the succession, and the kingdom of Persia was divided. The fierce and warlike Turks, or Turkomans, however, only waited for a leader to form a combined army. This leader appeared in 1096 in the person of Zengi, father of Nur-ed-din.[1]

Meanwhile, inspired chiefly by Peter the Hermit and Pope Urban II., the Western nations raised the Standard of the Cross,

[1] Commonly known as Genghis Khan, and Nooredin.

and in 1096 the holy wars known as "The Crusades" began. When Afdal heard of the coming of the Crusaders, he vainly hoped that they might have supported him against the Selguks, from whom he had just taken Jerusalem, forgetting that to these "Soldiers of the Cross" all Mohammedans were alike. This was soon proved, as, after the Crusaders had captured Edessa and Antioch in 1098, they marched on Jerusalem, which was in the possession of Afdal and his Egyptians. After a siege of 7 weeks, it fell to the Christians, and 70,000 Moslems perished in the city in 1099. Afdal was again vanquished before Askalon, when many of his men perished, after which he returned to Egypt. In 1102 he again led an army to Askalon, and there he defeated Baldwin and 700 Christian knights. The year following, Afdal sent his son to do battle with the Crusaders, but no decisive result was arrived at by either side. The Selguks and Fatimids united against the common foe, but in 1109 the greater part of Syria was in the hands of the Christians. Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, went into Egypt and attacked and burnt Farama, but was taken ill and died at Tanis in 1117. In 1121, Afdal was assassinated by order of the Khaliph el-Amir, who went to see him when he was dying and pretended much sorrow at the event, but as soon as he was dead went to his house and plundered all his goods. Afdal's wealth was very great, and he possessed many rare and costly treasures, a list of which is given by the historian Ge'mal-ed-din. El-Amir's reign was marked by detestable cruelty, and had it not been for the care and foresight of Afdal, Egypt would have suffered much. Left now to his own devices, the Khaliph's rule was worse than ever, and at last the people would bear it no longer. Returning one evening from his delightful rose garden in the island of Roda, he was attacked by 10 men, and died of his wounds the same night, November 1130.

The Akmar Mosque, built by el-Amir, 1125, which has a fine façade, was the first where stone was employed; all the earlier ones were of brick. It is still to be seen, having been little altered since his date.

El-Hafiz became regent in 1131, but Abu-Ali, son of Afdal, assumed the management of the country, shut up the regent in prison, and had coins struck and prayers recited in the name of an expected Mahdi, "Imam-el-Muntazar," who never appeared. He was a good ruler, kind and considerate to the Copts, and fond of poetry. El-Hafiz, although imprisoned, succeeded in conspiring against him, and he was assassinated by some of the "young guard," or personal troops, while riding to play "chaugan," a game like polo. The regent now took his

rightful place, and became Khaliph at the age of 57, in the year 1131. His Wezîr was Yanis, an Armenian slave, a very strict, hard man, who was much disliked; therefore the Khaliph caused him to be poisoned, and for some time el-Ḥafiz governed without a Wezîr. The sons of the regent then quarrelled over the succession, and caused a civil war. The party of the younger son G'uyushiya proved victorious, and ordered the death of Hasan, the leader of the other side. The Khaliph was obliged to consent, and commanded the two Court doctors to give him poison. The one, a Jew called Abu-Mansur, refused; but the other, a Christian, Ibn-Kirfa, prepared the fatal cup, which the unfortunate Hasan was obliged to drink. Shortly after, the repentant Khaliph caused the doctor who had done the horrid deed to be poisoned also. The next Wezîr was Bahram, chosen by the army, who, although a Christian, was given the name of "The Sword of Islam." He did not remain long in office, as he gave so many appointments to his own people that others were jealous of him, and he retired and became a monk. He was succeeded by Rudwan, who was the first to take the name of Melik, or king, a title assumed by succeeding Fatimid Wezîrs. Although a man of refinement and a brave soldier, he was cast into prison, and after lingering there for 10 years he escaped, but shortly after was cruelly murdered, in 1148.

The Khaliph Hafiz had always been most considerate to the Copts, and had freely allowed them full religious privileges, visiting their monasteries and receiving instruction in history from the Armenian Patriarch. He loved their gardens, and often spent hours at a time with his sons at Nahya, near Gizeh, enjoying the quiet beauty of the river. He died in October 1149, at the age of 75, having reigned 18 years.

His youngest son, el-Zafir, succeeded him. He was a pleasure-seeking youth who had no idea of government, and was entirely under the control of his Wezîr, a Kurd, who took the title of "Melik-el-Adil." This man was a Sunni and fearfully cruel, and caused wholesale massacres. The atrocities of this time have been graphically described by Osama, an Arab chief celebrated for his training of hawks. The people of Cairo rebelled, fighting fiercely in the streets. During these awful scenes both the Khaliph and his new Wezîr were murdered, and the women of the harîm cut off their hair and sent it to Talai-ibn-Ruzzik, a powerful Emir, as a sign of their despair. He came to their rescue with a large force, expelled Abbas, the ringleader of the rebellion, entered Cairo, and occupied the old palace of Mamun, where he assumed the title of "Melik-el-

Salih." He caused the body of the murdered Zafir to be buried beside the Khaliphs, and restored law and order in the city. He acted as regent to el-Faiz, the poor child of 4 years old who had succeeded his father Zafir on the day of his assassination, of which he had been a witness. El-Faiz never recovered from the shock, and died at the age of 11, in 1160.

Askalon, which had so long held out against the Crusaders, although constantly reinforced with Egyptian troops, fell into the hands of the Franks in 1153, during the Second Crusade, and with it fell the power of the Fatimids in Syria. Had Nur-ed-din, the Turkish leader, then combined with Salik-ibn-Russik, the Egyptian Wezîr, against their common foe, the Christians might have been driven out of Palestine; but Nur-ed-din, being a strict Sunni, would not listen to the special embassies sent to him in 1158 by the Shia ruler, as he was content with the victories he had already achieved.

On the death of el-Faiz, 1160, el-Adid, a boy of 9 years old, was chosen his successor, the Wezîr being still desirous of holding the reins of government. His rule did not, however, last much longer, as he was murdered through an intrigue of the women of the harîm. When dying, he warned his son against Sharwar, the governor of Upper Egypt, and also expressed his concern that he had not driven out the Turks and taken Jerusalem. There were grounds for what he said, for Sharwar killed the Wezîr's son in 1163, and the Franks firmly established themselves at Jerusalem.

The note of war was again sounded by Amalric, who had succeeded his brother as fifth king of Jerusalem. Saying that the tribute hitherto paid by Egypt to the Crusaders had not been received, he made this the excuse for invading their country. A Lakhmi Arab named Dirgham, supported by the people, had driven Sharwar the governor from Egypt and usurped his place. He opposed the Frankish invasion, but was defeated by Amalric at Bilbeys, escaping only by letting in the water of the Nile over the land; but before Amalric could reach Cairo, Sharwar, supported by Nur-ed-din, had returned with an army commanded by Shirkuh, brother to the Khaliph of Damascus, and accompanied by Saladin, his nephew. Amalric was forced to return to Palestine. Dirgham made a stand at Cairo against Sharwar, which proved futile, as he was shamefully deserted by all his troops; and killed by his own men. Sharwar once more became ruler of Cairo, but refused to ratify the promises he had previously made to Shirkuh; therefore the latter sent Saladin to Bilbeys with an army, and Sharwar asked Amalric for assistance. The Cru-

saders responded, and remained for three months in Egypt, when terms of peace were arranged in October 1164, and Shirkuh and his army returned to Palestine, without having gained either honour or territory. In 1167, Shirkuh once more made an attempt on Egypt, and led an expedition to conquer the Nile Valley towards the south, but his army was overtaken by a sandstorm, from which it suffered greatly. Amalric having hastened his troops from Syria, appeared suddenly on the east bank of the Nile, but no engagement took place. Amalric now determined to have a more secure treaty with the Fatimid Khaliph, and for this purpose two Christian knights, Hugh of Cæsarea and Geoffrey Fulcher the Templar, were granted an interview with him, which was an unheard-of event. The envoys were led through magnificent apartments, courts with fountains of marble paved in gorgeous mosaics; rare specimens of birds, beasts, and innumerable wonders met their astonished eyes, till they finally reached the presence of el-Adid, who met them with the utmost dignity; and, after much, persuasion, he was forced to ratify the pledge they had come to receive, by giving his ungloved hand to the knights.[1]

Amalric at first retreated to the Delta, but afterwards moved his army southwards to El-Baban, near Minyeh, where he came up with Shirkuh and Saladin, who, after some hesitation, attacked him and Sharwar, who had joined him. The united army of Franks and Egyptians was completely routed, and Hugh of Cæsarea was taken prisoner. The victors went to Alexandria, where Saladin was put in command as governor. The Franks brought "infernal machines" against the walls, but after an attack of 75 days Amalric gave up the conflict, the city was surrendered to Sharwar, and Shirkuh and his soldiers returned to Damascus. It seems doubtful which side really won the advantage, as it is said that Amalric gave Shirkuh 50,000 pieces of gold to leave the country, and that he placed guards in Cairo. Another version is that Amalric obliged Sharwar to pay him an annual tribute of 100,000 gold pieces. In 1168, Amalric again came to Egypt and attacked Bilbeys, where he allowed the most horrible massacres to be perpetrated. The Egyptians were so enraged at this monstrous act, that, to prevent their beautiful city of Fustat falling into the hands of the Crusaders, they set fire to it and allowed it to burn for 54 days. They fortified themselves against the enemy, who, however, did not attack, but waited near Cairo, negotiating with Sharwar, who meanwhile had called for assistance from Nur-ed-din. Shirkuh therefore once more led an army into Egypt, and in 1169

[1] See Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, pp. 86–88.

Amalric returned to Jerusalem without fighting. Shirkuh then entered Cairo, and was received in state by the Khaliph. The Wezîr never carried out the terms of peace which had been arranged, and moreover was found to be chief mover in a conspiracy against Shirkuh; therefore, by the latter's order, Saladin with a body of men waylaid Sharwar as he rode one day out of the city, and beheaded him at the Khaliph el-Adid's request. Sharwar, although deceitful and cruel like many of his countrymen, was a remarkable man, both as statesman and general, and added to many virtues the love of poetry inherited from his Bedawin race.

The Khaliph el-Adid appointed Shirkuh as Wezîr, giving him the title of "el-Melik-en-Nasir," or "Victorious King." This appointment gave great satisfaction, and he was much liked because of his free and genial manner; but he only lived two months after his promotion, and died on 23rd March 1169. At his death el-Adid made Saladin ("Honour of the Faith") his Wezîr. This gave offence to many, as Saladin, although 32 years of age, was considered too young for the post. This celebrated man was born at Tekrit in 1137; his father Ayyub was a Kurd in the service of the Khaliph of Baghdad, and afterwards became governor of Damascus. Saladin lived with Zengi and his son Nur-ed-din quietly in the palace of Mosil for 10 years. He accompanied his uncle Shirkuh when he went to Egypt, 1164–67, and although he had greatly distinguished himself in these campaigns, he much preferred a quiet and retired life, and it was against his will that honours were showered upon him. Once in office, however, he soon made his influence felt, and showed himself the powerful ruler he afterwards proved to be. Belonging to the Sunni Khaliphate of Damascus, Saladin's position was full of difficulties as Wezîr in a Shia Court, but he arranged that the two Khaliphs should be prayed for in the mosques, which satisfied both creeds of Moslems. He soon became a great favourite with the people; he was very handsome, and had a wonderful charm of manner, which won all hearts. He placed his own trusted friends about him, and dismissed former doubtful courtiers. The first act of his rule was to subdue a rising of the Sudani soldiers in Cairo, and banish them all to Upper Egypt. At the same time, Amalric king of Jerusalem, with his ally the Eastern Emperor Manuel, came to Damietta with a large fleet and formidable engines of war, with which to attack the town; but Saladin's men were able to resist them, and drove them out of the land. Saladin followed them to Syria, and became master of Gaza, and also of Eyla, on the Gulf of Akaba—

an important point for the protection of the pilgrims' road to Mekka.

Saladin now began to build theological colleges called "medresas," which consisted of a small court with 4 transepts leading out from it in the form of a cross, between the angles of which were the rooms used by the students and professors who assembled there to learn and teach. Though none of Saladin's "medresas" remain, most of the fine mosques of a later date are built on this plan. He built the first in 1176, and founded others, and by this means encouraged the orthodox Sunni teaching, till, feeling his position secure, he threw off the Shia yoke and proclaimed Nur-ed-din, the Abbasid Khaliph, in the mosques. El-Adid, the last of the Fatimids, never heard of the fall of his Dynasty; the sad news was kept from him as he lay dying in his palace, September 1171. Saladin provided most liberally for all el-Adid's family, who were allowed to live in one of the many palaces with which Cairo abounded, preferring himself to remain in the less luxurious one usually lived in by the Wezîrs. Gradually the magnificence of the Fatimids vanished, and their gorgeous palaces were allowed to fall into ruins; and as the people returned to the orthodox faith, they wreaked their fanatical vengeance on these tokens of the Shia supremacy, and so thoroughly did they carry out their work of destruction, that but few vestiges of the splendour and magnificence of the Fatimid Dynasty remain to this day. Saladin likewise dispersed the valuable library of 120,000 manuscripts, giving the principal share to Kadi-el-Fadil, his Wezîr, who was a very learned man, and assisted him greatly in the government.

Saladin's next undertaking was to re-fortify Cairo, and he was the first to build on the site of the present Citadel, the fortress not being entirely finished till after his death. His wish was to combine Fustat, Kahira, Misr, and Katai, which were all close together, into one city dominated by this Citadel. It has been so frequently altered that little of his work remains, but it became the residence of every successive ruler till the middle of the nineteenth century. The well there, still known as Joseph's Well, was made by his orders, and is so called after Saladin's other name, Yusef. He also repaired the Bahr Yusef Canal.[1]

In 1172 an army was sent to Northern Africa to subdue the coast from Barka to Gabes. Meanwhile his brother Turan-shah led more troops into Nubia, where, after quieting the black soldiers who had been banished there, he took the town of Ibrim, destroyed the Christian church, and killed 700 pigs,

[1] See Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, chapter viii.

because they were considered unlawful food by Moslems. Saladin was not satisfied with the accounts of the country which his brother brought back, so he desired him to proceed at once to Yemen, or Arabia Felix. This land proved more attractive; Taizz became the capital, and it remained a possession of the family for 55 years.

During this time a plot was contrived by some of the Fatimid family, joined by the kings of Jerusalem and Sicily, to depose Saladin, whom they called "the young Mamluk," the poet Omara being one of the principal intriguers. The movement came to the notice of Saladin, who soon found means of capturing the leaders, who were all crucified; for Saladin dealt very summarily with unbelievers, whether Shia heretics or Christians or Jews. In 1174 the fleet of the Norman kings of Sicily arrived off Alexandria, and landed, after some difficulty, with a large number of men and war appliances, with which they attacked the city. The besieged fought desperately for three days, always repulsing the enemy. On the third day the news reached them of Saladin's approach; the Normans fled to their ships in the greatest haste and confusion, and once more Alexandria had rest. Amalric died in this same year, and a son of King Baldwin succeeded as king of Jerusalem; but he was a poor sickly creature. The death of Nur-ed-din also occurring at this moment, left Syria a tempting prey to Saladin, although he apparently did homage to the son of Nur-ed-din. He marched victoriously through the south of Syria, but received a severe check at Aleppo. The following year he won a great victory in 1176 over the Mesopotamians, led by Seyf-ed-din, the nephew of Nur-ed-din, which gave him absolute power over all the peoples from Egypt to the Euphrates; and from this period his name first appears alone upon the coins. He continued to make great improvements in Cairo, adding to his new walls and fortifications, Syrians being employed on the works. A truce had been made with the Crusaders, who had bestowed the rank of knighthood on Saladin, but it was broken by the Franks near Damascus in 1177. Saladin went against them into Palestine, but he was defeated near Rama by King Baldwin, and forced to fly. This defeat was wiped out, two years later, by a decisive victory at Marg Oyûn (Mergion) over the Crusaders, whose principal knights were made prisoners. Soon after, Baldwin, with the Selguk Sultan and other princes, asked for a truce, which was arranged to last for two years, and to which was given the name of "Magna Pax Saracenica."

Saladin was now paramount in the East, and devoted his

energies to extending the power of Islàm. A pretext was soon afforded him for renewing hostilities against the Franks, and he left Egypt for the purpose in 1182; his fleet destroyed those of Reginald de Chatillon in the Red Sea, who had gone thither to take possession of Mekka and Medina. His first victory in Syria was gained at Tiberias over Guy de Lusignan, king of Jerusalem. Askalon fell to the Moslems two months later, and on October 2, 1187, the Holy City was taken. This loss roused Christendom, and a Third Crusade, under Philip Augustus of France and Richard Cœur de Lion, set out, reaching Palestine in 1191, and succeeding in taking Akka from Saladin, where the massacre of the Moslems by the Franks was fearful. A few ineffectual attempts were then made by the Crusaders to re-conquer Jerusalem. The following year Richard returned to Europe, a treaty of peace having been concluded between the Christians and Moslems, the former being confirmed in the possession of the seacoast and the cities from Jaffa to Tyre, besides those of Tripoli and Antioch.

Saladin never returned to Egypt. He had lived long enough to attain the great aim of his life, having driven the Christians from Jerusalem and established the religion of the Prophet throughout the whole of his dominions; but constant strain of mind and body had exhausted his strength, and he died of fever in Damascus, March 4, 1193, where his tomb still remains. Although Saladin was a fanatical Moslem, no one can help admiring the nobility of his character and the purity of his life: he has been rightly styled "the type and pattern of Saracen chivalry."[1]

THE AYYUBIDS, OR SUCCESSORS OF SALADIN.

During the time spent by Saladin in the Syrian wars, his brother el-Adil-Seyf-ed-din, together with the aged Wezîr, el-Fadil, held the reins in Egypt, but at his death his dominions were divided according to his directions between his three sons—Afdal had Damascus; el-Aziz, Egypt; and ez-Zahir, Aleppo; Saladin's brother Adil retaining Mesopotamia. The brothers, however, soon quarrelled, and although their uncle Adil tried to settle their disputes several times, he found it would be best in the end to assume the government of Egypt himself, under the title of Sultan. This was more easily accomplished, as Aziz, the ruler of Egypt, died in 1198. Adil then hurried to Damascus and obliged Afdal to come to terms, and took his provinces away from him. In fact, he soon gained for himself

[1] Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*.

all his brother's possessions, with the exception of Arabia, making Cairo his capital. The infant son of Afdal was deposed in 1200, and Adil appointed his own sons rulers over the different portions of his empire.

In 1195 the German Emperor, Henry VI., instigated by Pope Celestine III., set out on the Fourth Crusade. In 1197, Adil attacked and took Jaffa from them, while the Crusaders on their side seized Beyrout. Beyond this little was done, and on the death of the Emperor Henry the Crusaders returned to Europe, having made peace with Adil.

In 1201–2 a severe famine and pestilence visited the land of Egypt; terrible distress prevailed, and fearful atrocities were committed. There were also violent shocks of earthquake. These events are described from personal experience by a physician from Baghdad called Abd-el-Latif.

In the year following, 1203, the Latin Crusade was organised, but did not advance farther than Constantinople, so that Adil had leisure to arrange for the security of his empire. There was some desultory fighting with the Crusaders in Palestine, and to win tranquillity there, Adil restored Jaffa and Ramla to Amalric II., king of Jerusalem, in 1204, and made peace with Tripoli in 1207. The Egyptian Sultan also made a commercial treaty in 1208 with Venice, by which the Republic was enabled to extend her trade, already of great importance, in the Mediterranean, and even up the Nile.

No formidable attack was made in Egypt by the Crusaders till 1218, when John of Brienne, during the Fifth Crusade, besieged Damietta. He had succeeded to the throne of Jerusalem in right of his wife Mary, daughter of Amalric, who died in 1205. He had with him a large army and powerful munitions of war, and after a severe struggle, lasting for three months, Damietta fell into his hands.

The Sultan Adil never recovered the shock of this disaster, and died August 31, 1218, aged 74,—50 years after he first entered Egypt with the famous general Shirkuh. He resembled his great brother Saladin in strength of character, bodily powers, and personal charm. He possessed good health and appetite, and "could finish off a roast lamb at a meal." Under his rule and that of his sons, the empire Saladin had created prospered. His eldest son, el-Kamil, immediately began to strengthen his position against the Crusaders, and blocked the passage up the Nile by a pontoon near Damietta. At first he was unsuccessful in his attempts to dislodge the enemy, mainly owing to dissension among his generals; but in 1219, with the assistance of his brother el-Muazzam of Damascus,

he again attacked the Christians, and although they were receiving reinforcements from Europe of both arms and men, they became reduced, owing to hardships and want of supplies, from 50,000 to 4000. At this point el-Kamil tendered terms of peace on an extraordinarily liberal scale — offering the kingdom of Jerusalem in exchange for Damietta. This most generous proposal the Crusaders were foolish enough to decline, and from this time forward they suffered nothing but reverse and defeat, although they retained possession of Damietta.

In 1221 they were again reinforced, and tried to advance upon Cairo; but Kamil had been preparing for this by fortifying and enlarging a village near Damietta, now called Mansowah. After fighting hopelessly for many months, they were completely isolated by the cutting of the canal—the old Tanitic branch of the Nile—which let loose the waters upon them. After a desperate resistance and fearful loss, they were obliged to ask for mercy, which Kamil extended to them, allowing the remnant of their forces to leave the country if peace were maintained for 8 years. They accepted these terms, and departed sadly, after a weary and hopeless struggle of 3½ years.

The enthusiasm which had hitherto prevailed amongst the Christians for the possession of Jerusalem now became somewhat lessened, for many of those residing in the country had become traders, and would have preferred the ports of Damietta and Alexandria to the Holy City.

The Emperor Frederick II. was induced by the Pope to take up the cause of the Cross in 1215. It appears that he was on good terms with the Moslems, and especially with Kamil, who offered him the kingdom of Jerusalem in return for his support against his brother el-Muazzam, ruler of Damascus. So Frederick, although under the Papal ban owing to his dilatoriness in starting on the Crusade, as he did not sail till June 1228, gained possession of Jerusalem without striking a blow. In the meantime el-Muazzam died in 1227, but Kamil fulfilled his promises and signed a treaty on 11th February 1228, which stipulated that Jerusalem was not to be fortified; that the sacred Mosque of Omar was to belong to the Moslems; that Christian prisoners were to be released, and the emperor was to assist the Sultan in the preservation of peace. Frederick crowned himself king of Jerusalem in March 1229, claiming the right to do so through his late wife Yoland, daughter and heiress of John of Brienne.

Kamil made his brother Ashraf ruler of Damascus, and his daughters married the princes of Aleppo and Hamah.

In 1236 there was a quarrel with Ashraf, who died in 1237, and Kamil proceeded to Damascus to enforce his authority

there. After a siege, he took the city; but the fatigue of the expedition tried his strength too much, and he died at Damascus, after having governed Egypt well for 30 years, and for a long time without a Wezîr. He encouraged irrigation works and agriculture, built fortifications at Cairo, and founded colleges and other learned institutions, and his Court was frequented by scholars and men of note. He was one of the best rulers that Egypt had ever known.

His son Adil II. only reigned two years, and was replaced by his brother Salih Ayyub, who strove to gain the goodwill of the Christians by giving up to them the castles of Shekif, Safad, Tiberias, and Askalon in 1239. This arrangement did not last, as in 1244 we find Salih calling upon the Khwarizmian tribes to assist him in the massacre of 7000 Christians at Jerusalem, which city then came into the possession of the Moslems, in whose hands it has remained ever since. In the two following years Salih regained the cities he had lost, and his empire was once more as great as during the life of Saladin.

In 1249, Salih heard of the arrival of Louis IX. (St. Louis) of France with an armed force at Damietta, and ill though he was, he had himself carried to the seat of war in a litter. Louis was inspired by the highest motives, and was full of courage and zeal for the sacred cause. But the Seventh Crusade, under his leadership, was as unfortunate as the former ones had been. His principal followers were French, but other soldiers of the Cross joined him from England, Cyprus, and Syria. As soon as he arrived at Damietta, the garrison fled, and he took possession of the city; he did not, unfortunately, follow up his advantage, but waited for further reinforcements, and during this delay the hostile army had time to collect and arrange its forces. At Sharmesa, where the Tanitic branch divided from the Damietta branch of the Nile, the Christian army, guided by a traitor, forded the river in three divisions. Robert of Artois, brother of King Louis, refused to wait for the rest, and with his division charged violently through the enemy's camp, killed their commander, Fakhr-ed-din, and proceeded to the Sultan's palace. Here the corps of Mamluks trained by Salih rallied, and completely routed the Franks, who fled in disorder, many perishing in the narrow streets of Mansura, while the rest tried to reach the river to rejoin King Louis, who had crossed after them. By sunset the Mamluks were driven off, but at a fearful sacrifice of the best and noblest blood of Europe, amongst the slain being Count Robert of Artois and William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury.

The Sultan Salih had died a short time before the French

quitted Damietta, but in order that his troops should not be discouraged, his death had been carefully concealed by Sheger-ed-durr (Spray of Pearl), one of his wives, who had been a slave, a woman of extraordinary cleverness and resource. She admitted to her confidence two or three of the Emirs whom she could trust, and they arranged that orders were issued as if from the Sultan, duly sealed and signed with his name, forged by one of the eunuchs. His food was sent in to the sickroom where he was said to be lying ill, at regular hours, and the whole business of the country was carried on with the utmost care and ability, so that when the heir Turanshah arrived in February, all was in perfect order, and Sheger-ed-durr retired from her responsible office. She made a memorable pilgrimage to Mekka.[1]

Turanshah placed Louis in a helpless position, by conveying a number of ships, which were taken to pieces, carried on camels, and placed in the Nile between the French fleet and the sea, thus cutting off their supplies. Louis held his ground as long as possible, until sickness and starvation compelled him to try to escape. Negotiations having failed, he retreated by night towards Damietta, destroying his weapons and abandoning the position. The Moslems pursued him vigorously, and it was said that 30,000 Christians were slain. King Louis and the Sieur de Joinville, in whose writings these scenes are described, were taken prisoners, and a ransom of 10,000,000 francs was asked for the lives of the survivors, but in the end Turanshah accepted a smaller sum. Louis, with his queen, Margaret of Provence, and his few remaining followers, went to Akka, and Damietta was razed to the ground.

Turanshah, always unpopular, had been murdered by the Mamluks, May 1250, while swimming in the river trying to escape from his pursuers, and Sheger-ed-durr again took the reins of government, with the title of "Defender of the Faith."

The death of this Sultan concluded the Ayyubid Dynasty in Egypt, which was one of power and prosperity, more especially during the reigns of the three great rulers—Adil, Kamil, and Salih.

In consequence of the wise government of Sheger-ed-durr after the death of her husband Salih, she was elected queen—a most unusual position for a woman to attain in a Moslem country.

She conducted public affairs, signing all state documents, adopted royal titles in right of her son Khalil, who died in infancy, and prayers were said in her name in the mosques.

[1] See page 348.

THE MAMLUKS.

"Think in this battered caravansarai,
Whose portals are alternate night and day,
How Sultan after Sultan, with his pomp,
Abode his destined hour, and went his way."
FITZGERALD: *Omar Khyyam.*

At the time of the death of Turanshah, the Bahris, or White Slaves of the River, were the most powerful among the Egyptian Mamluks: they were so called from their station on the island of Roda, opposite Fustat, on the Nile.

The Mamluks were now all-powerful in Egypt. Originally slaves, as the name "owned" signifies, their influence and status in the country had grown to an enormous extent since their introduction from Turkey in the year 815 by the governor of Bokhara. The great governor Tulun was one of these slaves, and he and his successors continually imported others to strengthen this faction. They formed the special bodyguard of the Khaliphs of Baghdad, and many rose to high offices of state, received large grants of land, in return for which they performed military service, and amassed great wealth. The influence of the Mamluks lasted for 267 years, during which time the Sultanate of Egypt remained in their hands—he among them who had most ability and courage taking possession of the throne. This was not achieved without frequent conspiracies, insurrections, and murders, so that the peaceful inhabitants were often much disturbed. But in spite of their cruelties and often barbarous character, the wealth of Egypt under their sway rose enormously, commerce increased to an extent hitherto unheard-of, and vast sums of money poured into the royal treasury from the tolls and customs dues levied by the Sultans on the goods from the East. These had to pass through Egypt or the ports of Syria on their way to the vessels of the Venetian merchants, who had in those days a monopoly of the trade with India.

The chief of these Bahri Mamluks, Izz-ed-din-Aybek, was chosen as second husband of Sheger-ed-durr, and was proclaimed Sultan with the title of el-Melik-el-Moizz, in July 1250. Fearing the Ayyubids would again assert their rights, or that other factions of Mamluks might supplant him on the throne, Aybek strengthened his position by choosing the boy of six, Ashraf Musa, a grandson of el-Kamil, to reign with him. He likewise placed Egypt under the protection of Baghdad.

He treated the body of Salih Ayyub with respect, and placed it in the mosque which Sheger-ed-durr had prepared for its reception, with great ceremony, he and Ashraf attending in state.

In 1251, Nasir, great-grandson of Saladin, who had taken possession of Damascus, invaded Egypt, and a battle was fought near Abbasa. At first Nasir was successful, and Cairo was preparing to receive him, when the fortune of the day changed, and Aybek instead entered the city victoriously, bringing with him a number of important prisoners.

After this, Aybek had Ashraf removed to Constantinople, and the Khaliph arranged peaceful relations between Syria and Egypt, the latter retaining Jerusalem and other portions of Western Palestine. Thus ended Aybek's troubles outside his kingdom. Within it conspiracies were rife, and an Arab revolt ensued, which was quelled by Aktai, Aybek's ablest general. This victory saved Egypt at the time, but rendered Aktai so arrogant that Aybek had him assassinated at the Citadel.

Aybek wished to make Lulu, daughter of the prince of Mosil, a second wife, but this so incensed Sheger-ed-durr that she plotted against his life, and caused him to be killed in his bath. Her own tragic end soon followed. The Mamluks, to avenge Aybek, had her imprisoned in the "Red Tower"; here it is said she spent her time "pounding up her jewels in a mortar, so that no other woman should wear them." Shortly after, she was put to death in presence of the Princess Lulu by the women of her harîm, a terrible close to the reign of so great a queen. Her tomb still exists in Cairo.

A son of Aybek, a boy of 15, was placed on the throne, but after two years the regent, Kutuz, put him aside and proclaimed himself Sultan. He was very soon called upon to defend his country from a serious invasion by the Mongols, the Tartar power who had risen in the East and had begun a career of conquest. They had taken Baghdad the year before, and had killed Motassem, the last ruler of the race of Abbas. In 1260 they possessed all Syria. Hulagu, grandson of Fenghis Khan, sent a haughty message to Kutuz demanding the surrender of his country. The messengers were beheaded, an army under Beybars forced the Mongols to retreat, and a great battle was won near Beysan, at Goliath's Spring, where the Mongol general was killed. The country under Kutuz' skilful management was soon at peace, but his useful career was cut short as he was returning to Egypt by the envious Beybars, who obliged the army to place him on the throne instead, October 24, 1260.

Beybars was originally a slave—"a tall, ruddy fellow with blue eyes, one disfigured by a cataract; hence he only fetched £20 in the slave market." He after a time became the property of Salih Ayyub, and made a great name for himself at the battle of Mansura. His ambition was boundless, and he determined to keep the Mongols at the other side of the Euphrates, and formed an alliance with Baraka, Khan of the Golden Horde in his native country of Kipchak, against the Persians. He cemented this alliance, which lasted many years, by marrying the daughter of Baraka, and the Khan's name was added to his own in the Friday prayers. From time to time magnificent presents were sent to Baraka; among them we read of a throne of ivory, valuable jewels, swords, costly lamps, slaves, horses, apes and parrots, and an unique copy of the Koran. To strengthen his claim to be the chief sovereign of Islam, he brought a member of the former Abbasid Khaliphate to Cairo with the title of Mustansir, so that he might invest him with the robes and insignia of the Khaliphate. Seventeen Khaliphs after el-Mustansir followed each other in Cairo from 1261 to 1538. They had no temporal power, but were the orthodox spiritual representatives of the Prophet, and confirmed the authority of each succeeding Mamluk sovereign.

Beybars helped the Emperor Michael Palæologus to place a Melkite Patriarch at Constantinople, and made commercial treaties with the powers of Sicily, Italy, Spain, and France. For 10 years he had constant skirmishes with the Crusaders, of a more or less important character. In 1265, Cæsarea and Arsuf were destroyed by him. He personally assisted in this work of demolition, and compelled the vanquished to do so likewise. Other victories followed throughout Palestine, culminating in the taking of Antioch and its destruction by fire in 1268. After this victory he wrote a heartless and cruel letter to Bœmond VI., prince of Antioch, taunting him with his losses and accusing him of faint-heartedness, ending with these words: "As not a man hath escaped to tell thee the tale, we tell it thee; as no soul could apprise thee that thou art safe while all the rest have perished, we apprise thee."

The Christians, who had now lost all they had ever gained in the Holy Land with the exception of Akka, sued for peace, to which Beybars would not immediately consent. A few final and ineffectual efforts were made to re-take the country by those who took part in the Seventh Crusade of 1270 under St. Louis of France, who died the same year; but in 1272 a treaty was arranged to last 10 years 10 months and 10 days, between Beybars, Edward Plantagenet of England, Hugh III., king of

Jerusalem, and Bœmond of Antioch, and confirmed by Bœmond's successor in 1275.

Beybars was also successful in overthrowing the power of a fanatical band of Mohammedans who for 160 years had established a reign of terror in the northern mountains of Palestine. These brigands were under a leader called "The Old Man of the Mountain,"[1] who waylaid and murdered luckless travellers and merchants, many notable persons being among their victims. They were called "Assassins," and from them the modern word is derived. They went to Egypt in 1273, and settled there peaceably.

In 1275, Beybars sent an expedition to the Sudan, as Dawud, the Christian king of Nubia, had made an ill-advised attempt to invade Egyptian territory, in consequence of the intrigues of his nephew Shekenda, who joined the Mamluks against him. Beybars conquered the country, took Dongola, and obliged Dawud to pay a heavy tribute. Beybars' last campaign was fought in 1277 against the Mongols, who were now rulers of Asia Minor, and the young Selguk princes. A severe engagement took place at Abulusteyn, where a complete victory was obtained by Beybars, who placed himself upon the Selguk throne and was proclaimed in the mosque. This honour was short-lived, but he had reached the height of his ambition. His dominion extended from the Fourth Cataract of the Nile to the Euphrates on the east. It included the holy cities of Mekka and Medina and almost the whole of Syria, and the rulers of Yemen, Abyssinia, and North Africa were his friends.

Beybars, although so much occupied in warlike campaigns, found leisure for literary pursuits as well as for the internal development of his country. He kept up a large army, restored the fleet, and extended irrigation works. He protected the mouth of the river from invasion, and rebuilt Damietta farther inland. Colleges and mosques were founded; regular postal services were established, both of horses and pigeons, throughout Egypt and Syria. The royal birds were housed at different stations, and taught to fly as far as the next stage, when the letter was taken from them and fastened to the wing of the bird destined for the next station. When the pigeon reached the Citadel, the Sultan was always told, and himself took the missive from the bird, no matter at what hour of the day or night it arrived.

Beybars possessed great wealth, and kept up much state

[1] A tale called "The Old Man of the Mountain," by Miss Fountaine (the late Mrs. Tyssen Amherst), was published in the *Literary Souvenir* for 1834.

when it pleased him, though he was always ready to share the fatigues and hardships of war with his soldiers. His Court was a very magnificent one, consisting of numerous officers of state and a large number of retainers. It was a pattern of lavish luxury copied by the wealthier Mamluks, who delighted to pass their days in feasting and revelry amid gorgeous surroundings. He was very active, and transacted all his own business, constantly working with his secretaries through the night. He was fond of archery and polo, skilful in the use of the lance, and an excellent swimmer. He was strict in discipline and the performance of religious duties; just, but suspicious, and not over-scrupulous as to the manner by which he attained his ends. He was popular, but his anger was greatly feared. He reigned 17 years, and died in Damascus in 1277, "probably from drinking of a poisoned cup he had prepared for a rival prince."

Beybars' eldest son Said succeeded him, but did not inherit his father's ability. He loved pleasure more than the duties of state, and was at last obliged to give up the government and retire to Karak, where he soon after died, 1280. Kala-un, an able general, was then asked to become Sultan, but he thought it wiser at first to place Beybars' younger son, who was 7 years old, upon the throne, with the title of "el-Adil." Kala-un remained as regent for 100 days, when he deposed the boy, mounted the throne himself, which he and his descendants held for 100 years. This position was not reached without much trouble, as any one of the chief Emirs was eligible for the throne, and consequently intrigues were many and formidable; but Kala-un was wise and tactful, and in the end mastered all opposition from within.

The Mongols, the old enemies of the Mamluks, were again becoming troublesome, and in October 1281 a great battle was fought against them near Hims, when one wing of the Mongols was victorious over the Egyptians, and the other wing was severely beaten. The victors flew to the help of their vanquished brethren when the Sultan closed in upon them, and the Mongols were entirely routed; but their flight was stopped at the Euphrates by orders sent to the governors by pigeon post to prevent their passage. After this crushing defeat an armistice was agreed upon, which lasted 17 years.

In 1284, ambassadors were sent by Ahmad, the first Mohammedan Mongol Khan, to Kala-un with costly presents and offers of friendship. They were received by 1500 Mamluks in gorgeous attire, with golden turbans and girdles, each holding a wax candle. Kala-un confirmed the friendly relations Beybars

had established with all the Mediterranean powers, and even extended them to India, China, and Ceylon.

In 1285, Kala-un broke the 10 years' treaty of peace that he had made with the Crusaders, by suddenly seizing the fortress of Markab (Margak) from the Hospitallers. The Count of Tripoli and Margaret of Tyre were also forced to surrender and to pay heavy fines. Tripoli was besieged, the city burnt, and the people massacred in 1289. Even this did not satisfy the Sultan, who now prepared for a Holy War, though in his 70th year; but on the eve of his departure he died suddenly, having reigned 11 years.

Kala-un had been successful in most of his enterprises, and maintained order and discipline throughout his vast empire. He again enforced the tribute of Bakht from the Nubians. He was benevolent but stern, removing any turbulent or troublesome persons. He built a mosque and hospital (Maristan) at Cairo, which are still in existence. The hospital, which was in use until recent years, was built in fulfilment of a vow made during an illness at Damascus. It was as perfect as the knowledge and science of the times could make it, being airy and spacious; learned and skilful doctors practised there. A band of musicians was provided to enliven the sufferers, and advice and treatment were given free. A fine library was also attached to it, and a school where 60 orphans were maintained and educated.

Khalil, son of Kala-un, succeeded to the throne in 1290. The chief event of his reign was the siege of Akka, the strongest fortress on the coast, still held by the Christians. The population was a mixed one, made up of the lowest types of European nations, and the town was the abode of vice and wickedness. After a siege lasting some weeks, the place with all its inhabitants was utterly destroyed, the people flying to the ships in such numbers that the vessels sank in the bay from their weight, and the Knights Templars who had gallantly defended the town were overwhelmed in the destruction. Thus finally ended, on May 18, 1292, the long struggle of the Crusaders in Palestine. Khalil reigned but three years, during which time he exercised great tyranny, ruthlessly killing many of the trusty Emirs and several of his father's old friends, by one of whom he was murdered when returning from a hunting expedition, December 1293.

Nasir-ed-din Mohammed, the youngest son of Kala-un, was then placed upon the throne, at the age of 9. The kingdom was managed by Ketburgha, one of the chief Emirs, as regent; but he soon sent away the child, and assumed the Sultanate in

1294. The next year there was a famine, followed by pestilence, and these misfortunes being ascribed to the Sultan, he was deposed and murdered, and Lagin-el-Mansuri, governor of Syria, was chosen in his place, and was welcomed at Cairo with great pomp. He made an expedition against Armenia, and brought back much spoil to Syria. In private life he bore a good character, and rigidly adhered to the laws and customs of Islám. He married a daughter of Kala-un, but soon fell a victim to the jealousy of his enemies in 1299, his chief slave and friend Mangutimur being assassinated at the same time. After this, Nasir, the real Sultan, who was now 14, was recalled and again placed on the throne with much ceremony; but his position was nominal only, as Salar and Beybars, two principal Emirs, were in reality the heads of the State.

The Mongols again invaded Syria in September 1299, when the young Nasir took his place as leader of his troops; but disaster followed him from the first, and they were entirely routed, and returned dispirited to Cairo, scarcely a follower being left to the boy Sultan. Two months later, the Egyptians once more set out, and finding Damascus had been vacated by the Mongols, they took possesion of the town, and with it the whole of Syria, 1300. After a year of peace, Ghazan, the Mongol Khan of Persia, who had vainly tried to make terms, collected his forces of 100,000 men, and again advanced on Damascus. Nasir arrived in person with Beybars and other chief Mamluks to meet Ghazan, and a great battle, 1302, ensued, which at first seemed disastrous to the Egyptian side, their right wing being defeated, but the left and centre remaining unshaken, turned the fortunes of the day into a brilliant victory. Nasir and his army made a triumphant march back to Cairo, where the decorations were on an unprecedented scale of magnificence; silken banners waved from the houses, costly carpets were laid down on the line of procession, and bands of music and shouts deafened the ears of the spectators, who paid from 4 to 8 dinars (£2 to £4) for seats along the route. This decisive victory put an end, once for all, to further invasion by the Mongols.

In 1309 the jealousies and rival factions of the two great Emirs, Salar and Beybars, and their semi-starvation and cruel treatment of the Sultan Nasir, made his position on the throne so intolerable that he determined to retire into private life, and on pretence of a pilgrimage he left Cairo. Having reached the fortress of Karak, in the mountains to the south-east of the Dead Sea, he sent messengers to the Emirs, carrying back his insignia of state, and withstood all entreaties to return. Beybars II.,

who was now elected Sultan, had but a short reign; the people disliked him, and clamoured for Nasir to come back. The latter had not been idle in his retreat: his followers rallied round him, and he entered Damascus in the same festive manner as he had formerly entered Cairo; the neighbouring princes having assembled there to do him homage. Beybars fled to Suez, and afterwards to Gaza, where he was made prisoner.

Nasir returned to Cairo for the third time as Sultan, in March 1310. His first act was to put an end to Salar by starvation, a retribution for the harsh treatment exercised by this Emir to himself, and by reason of which his naturally good and generous disposition had become "soured and embittered." Henceforth he ruled alone, Beybars being put to death, and many of the powerful Emirs disappearing mysteriously. He married the Princess Tulbiya, 1319, a relation of Uzbeg, Khan of the Golden Horde, Egypt's old ally. The Nubians, under Kenz-ed-Dawla, asserted their independence, and would not pay tribute to Egypt.

The Egyptian Empire was not extended under Nasir, but he had friendly relations with many of the European Powers, who sent embassies to his Court, as did also the Emperor from Constantinople, the Indian Sultan Tughlak, and the rulers of other Eastern countries. He took great interest in the affairs of Mekka and Medina, and made three pilgrimages in person. He was a zealous Moslem, punishing drunkenness and other vices with severity. Cairo suffered greatly from fanatical disturbances, but Nasir's stern justice to the contending parties restored order. The arts flourished, and at no period did they attain greater perfection. The marvellously beautiful specimens still preserved bearing his name in metals, glass, and other materials, prove the excellent work of the time, while the grand mosques and the Citadel of Cairo testify to the great height of perfection that architecture had attained. The exquisite blue-tiled mosque of Aksunkur belongs to this period.

Between the years 1320 and 1360 over 40 "gamis" and "medresas" were built; above 20 of these still exist, and testify to the taste of the period. Their chief features are their decorative exterior, their beautiful tapering minarets with "stalactite" supports, and their fine domes. These latter are the most distinctive point of Mamluk architecture. At first plain, they gradually became more ornate, till in the fifteenth century they were frequently covered with elaborate arabesque tracery in stone.

Nasir loved horses, and had a large stud farm in which he

took the greatest interest, sparing no money in the purchase of fine animals. He encouraged racing, falconry, hunting, and all sports; but although lavish in expenditure upon these objects, his personal expenses were few, his dress being very plain, and his habits simple. He was small and insignificant-looking, lame, and had but one eye, therefore it could not have been his personal appearance that made him a favourite with the people. Under him the Egyptians enjoyed great prosperity; even the fellahîn were exempted from many taxes, the Mamluks being obliged to take their share in providing funds for the exchequer. He fell ill and died in June 1341, and on his deathbed summoned a council and nominated his son Abu Bekr as his successor. Nasir was 58 years old, and had reigned 48 years.

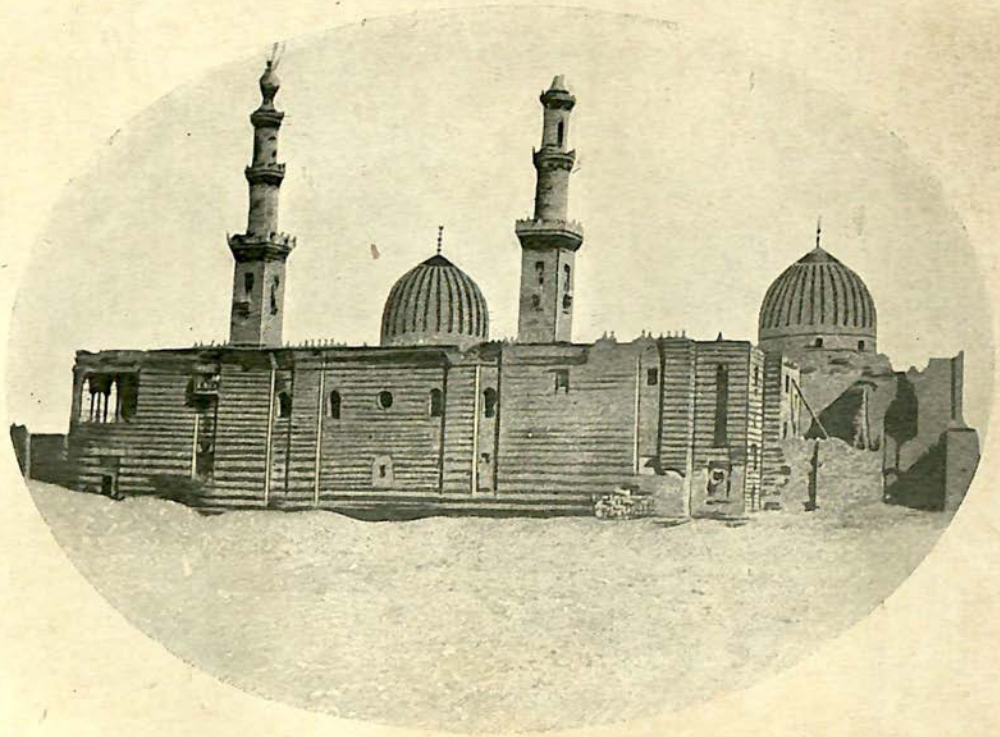
The descendants of Nasir, sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons, occupied the throne of Egypt for 41 years. Most of them were young children who were simply tools in the hands of the intriguing Emirs; and what with the incompetency of the rulers and the jealousy of the Emirs, Cairo was in a state of anarchy and confusion. The only one who seems to have left his mark was Hasan, the 7th son of Nasir, who began to reign in 1347, occupied the throne just 4 years, was then deposed, and after 3 years reinstated, and reigned for 6 more. The beautiful "Sultan Hasan" mosque in Cairo was built by him.

There were some unimportant wars, and Egypt was called on to defend herself from the attacks of the Armenians, Syrians, and the Bedawin of Upper Egypt, as well as from the Nubians, during which campaign the old capital of Dongola was entirely destroyed. The combined fleet of Genoa, Venice, and Rhodes, under Peter of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, appeared off Alexandria, which they took and plundered, carrying off about 5000 prisoners; but terms of peace were arranged at last in 1370. To guard themselves from these attacks, the Egyptians were obliged to construct a fleet, the money for this purpose being extorted from the Copts.[1]

The Turkoman chiefs of Asia Minor, who had hitherto been friendly to Egypt, now, in 1378, showed themselves hostile, and thus began the struggle which ended in their occupation of the country 140 years later.

One Emir succeeded another in the government of Egypt, until at last Barkuk, by the rule of "Might is Right," dethroned the child Sultan Haggi, the last of Kala-un's line, and founded the new Circassian Dynasty in 1382.

[1] See page 392.



View of the Mosque of Sultan Barkuk Cairo taken 22 March 1850
by Dr. C.G. Wheelhouse in Talbotype process.

THE CIRCASSIANS.

"Egypt's hieroglyphic realm,
Other floods the Nile o'erwhelm,
Slaves turned despots hold the helm."
MONTGOMERY: *Voyage round the World.*

Barkuk, originally a slave, the property of Yelbugha, governor of Aleppo, placed himself upon the throne and was acknowledged by the people in 1382. In the following year a formidable plot was detected, the object of which was to place another on the throne and to murder Barkuk. This conspiracy was quelled for a time, until in 1389 the Syrian governor Mintash joined Yelbugha against the Sultan. They defeated the Egyptian troops, took Damascus, and marched upon Cairo, where Barkuk, terrified, completely lost heart, submitting to Yelbugha, who spared his life and sent him prisoner to Karak.

Yelbugha refused the Sultanate, and restored the child Haggi, whom Barkuk had deposed. He and Mintash then quarrelled because Mintash had desired Barkuk's death. Meantime (1390) Barkuk had escaped from Karak, and, being joined by a large following, fought with the rebel forces near Sarkhab. He was at first checked by Mintash, but fortunately coming upon Haggi and Yelbugha in their tent at an unguarded moment, took them with him to Egypt. In Cairo they were received with great rejoicings, Barkuk being proclaimed Sultan. He provided liberally for Haggi, who lived in a palace in the Citadel, and two years after, the troublesome rising in Syria was last suppressed.

In 1393, Timur, the great Tartar chief, who had already begun his famous conquests, took possession of Baghdad, invaded Mesopotamia, and advanced towards Barkuk's Syrian provinces. All the rulers of neighbouring territories joined together and made common cause against the enemy, and this determined resistance checked Timur's advance, and he turned his attention elsewhere for a time. In 1399, Barkuk died at the age of 60, having named his son Faraag as his successor. Barkuk was refined in his tastes, though often cruel. He was fond of literature and art, founded several public institutions, made many improvements, and erected beautiful buildings, some of which still remain.

His son was only 13 when he came to the throne in 1399, and the year following he led an army against Timur, who was advancing rapidly on Damascus. Faraag's army was beaten, and the city surrendered, he himself returning hastily to Cairo,

where he acceded to Timur's demands, and gave up the prisoners he had taken. Timur died in 1405 without having been able to carry his arms into Egypt. Faraag, however, became unpopular, and, fearing the anger of his people, disappeared, allowing it to be supposed that he was dead. For two months his brother el-Mansur Abd-el-Aziz occupied the throne, but Faraag was induced to return by the Emir Yeshbek, and continued Sultan till 1412. He tried to restore order in Syria, which the feuds and jealousies of the rival Emirs kept in a state of perpetual turmoil and anxiety. Faraag surrendered to the Emir Sheykh-el-Muyyad, who had previously deposed him, and was executed at Damascus by the order of the Khaliph. His character was intemperate and tyrannical. He built a mosque-tomb for his father Barkuk in Cairo, and was buried in it himself.

Five brief reigns followed: Mustain, Sheykh-el-Muyyad, Ahmed, Nawruz, and Mohammed succeeded each other between 1412 and 1421, some only remaining for a few months upon the throne, and all dependent on the caprice of the Emirs, who elected or deposed them as they pleased. Under Muyyad, the fine mosque near the Bab-Zawila was built.

There were several military expeditions, the most important that against the Turkomans to the north, but the Egyptian Empire was neither enlarged nor benefited, and internal dissensions were a bar to progress. It was at this time that Makrizi lived, born 1364. His historical and topographical description of Egypt and his history of the Moslems are of great importance.

Bars-Bey, the regent, succeeded Mohammed in 1422, and ruled for 16 years. The chief event of his reign was the conquest of the island of Cyprus, the only extension of the empire of Egypt during the Circassian Dynasty. Several vain attempts had been made to acquire it, but at length, in 1427, the Cypriotes were defeated. James of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, was brought to Cairo in chains and bare-headed, and when asked for a ransom, declared, "There's nothing but my life, which the Sultan may deal with as he sees fit." Intercession on his behalf was made by the European merchants in Cairo, who guaranteed a sum of 100,000 dinars, and the king was set at liberty, well treated, and finally allowed to leave in company with the Ambassadors from Rhodes, who had come to arrange terms for the Treaty of Cyprus. This was arranged with Bars-Bey, and the island became a dependency of Egypt and paid a yearly tribute, which was continued to the end of the Mamluk rule. Bars-Bey extended the commercial

relations of Egypt with India, and lessened the duties on imports at Jedda, the port of Mekka. Ships found their way there in large numbers, freighted with costly goods; but he imposed very heavy duties on certain articles, such as pepper, sugar, wood, etc., till at last the Government exactions became unbearable, and after severe remonstrances better terms were accorded to Spanish and Venetian traders. Bars-Bey died in 1438. His rule had been despotic, but he was a pious Moslem, fond of reading, delighting in the society of el-Ayni and other learned men. His son el-Aziz-Yusuf was soon superseded by the regent G'akmak, once a slave of Barkuk, a good man, under whom the kingdom prospered. The earlier part of his reign was disturbed by an attempt of the governor of Aleppo to reinstate Yusuf, but the rising was quelled, the governor beheaded, and Yusuf sent to Alexandria in 1439. G'akmak organised several expeditions against the Knights of St. John in Rhodes, but, being unsuccessful in gaining possession of the island, finally gave up the attempt in 1444. His relations with Turkoman chiefs were very friendly, and two princesses from Asia Minor became his wives. He put down vice, was zealous in the propagation of his religion, and loved learning, speaking Arabic as well as Turkish. His personal tastes were simple, and he possessed a beautiful collection of manuscripts. He lived to the age of 80, and his death took place in 1453. His son el-Mansur Othman reigned but 6 weeks, and was deposed in consequence of the cruelties he perpetrated. Inal, who succeeded him, was totally uneducated. He was but a tool in the hands of the Mamluks, and, being too much afraid of them to resist their demands, the treasury was soon empty, disorder was rampant, and no one was safe from violence. He died in 1461, aged 80, having nominated as his successor his son Ahmad. His tomb, with its beautiful minaret, is near that of Kait Bey.

Ahmad began well, and tried to restore order among the Emirs. He had not, however, sufficient strength of character for this task, and in four months her esigned, after which he was attacked in his own Citadel and sent in chains to Alexandria, but was shortly released and allowed to live there in comfort.

Khushkadam was his successor. He had risen from being a slave of Sultan Sheykh to become the governor of Damascus. He was the first Sultan of Greek birth, all the previous ones having been Circassians. Khushkadam owed his position to Jani Bey, an Emir of high station at Jedda, who had persuaded the powerful Ashrafite faction to accept him as Sultan; but as soon as he felt secure, he turned upon Jani Bey and had him

attacked and slain. He showed but little wisdom in his dealings with other States and Powers, but managed to preserve peace tolerably within his empire by first humouring one party and then another. He was unpopular, and died in 1467. His son ez-Zahir Yel Bey was known as "The Lunatic," and deposed in two months, and Timurbugha, a Greek of much learning, was nominated. He endeavoured to conciliate all parties, but with an empty treasury it was impossible, and the Mamluks broke into the Citadel, seized him, and proclaimed Kheyr Bek, one of their number, Sultan. He, however, had no time to do more than pillage the harîm, when, in his turn, he was superseded by another stronger Emir, Kait Bey, who, declaring himself Sultan, also deposed Timurbugha, who was allowed to live peaceably at Damietta.

Kait Bey, who ascended the throne in 1468, held it for nearly 29 years. Like other Sultans, he was originally a slave, and had been purchased by Bars-Bey for 50 dinars (25 guineas). He had then belonged to G'akmak, and had risen in the army under successive Sultans to the position of commander-in-chief under Timurbugha. He was a stern man, with a powerful will, dealing in a summary fashion with all offenders. His skill and personal prowess caused him to be much beloved by his Mamluks. In order to obtain money for his campaigns, he imposed heavy taxes, more especially upon Jews and Christians; but he upheld the institutions of the country, repaired the ancient edifices, and built beautiful mosques and caravanseries, not only in Cairo but throughout the Mamluk dominions.[1]

The power of the Othmanli Turks was increasing; Constantinople had been taken by them in 1453, and although the Mamluks tried to keep on good terms with them, they were too eager for conquest to remain their friends long. An excuse for interference was soon found. Mohammed II. taking the part of Siwar, chief of Northern Syria, harassed the Egyptian forces on the frontier, and caused Kait Bey much trouble in 1468, when his army was beaten. But Siwar being afterwards deserted by the Othmanlis, was defeated and brought prisoner to Cairo, where he was, in mockery, clad in royal robes, placed on a charger in seeming pomp, and brought before Kait Bey. The cruel deception was then ended; Siwar and his followers were led in chains to the city gates and there hanged. Other disturbances occurred in the north of Syria, and from 1469 to 1481 Kait Bey was much occupied, especially in checking the advance of Uzun Hasan and his son. Kait Bey provoked an unnecessary

[1] A map of Cairo, drawn by Jacobo Bellini, is mentioned as having been brought to Isabella d'Este, Marchesa of Mantua, in 1402.—*Isabella d'Este*, by Julia Cartwright.

quarrel with the Ottoman Sultan, Bayezid II., by taking the part of his brother Djem against him. He received the latter with great honours at Cairo, and assisted him with money and troops. The rebellion, however, failed, and Djem fled to Rome, where he was held as a hostage by the Pope, and where he afterwards died, it was suspected of poison. Kait Bey endeavoured to make peace with Bayezid by returning the captives taken in the war. Bayezid declined to be propitiated, and entered on a new campaign, but, being defeated, he finally accepted the terms offered by Kait Bey, and peace was concluded in 1491.

In 1492 a fearful plague devastated Egypt; at Cairo 12,000 persons died in one day, amongst them the Sultan's only wife and a daughter. These sorrows, and factions amongst the turbulent Mamluks, so preyed upon Kait Bey, that on August 6, 1496, he gave up the throne to his son Mohammed, and died next day.

After a short reign of two years spent in vice and dissipation, Mohammed was killed in a midnight brawl at Cairo, and was succeeded by his uncle ez-Zahir Kansuh, in 1498. Zahir had no strength of character, and could not stand against the Mamluks. He escaped from the Citadel disguised as a woman, but was captured and sent prisoner to Alexandria in 1500. Ganbalat followed, but at the end of 6 months Tuman Bey attacked the Citadel, took the Sultan Ganbalat prisoner, and caused him to be beheaded at Alexandria. Tuman Bey as head of the Mamluks had been very popular, but on his assuming the Sultanate he followed the example of his predecessors, murdered or banished officials and Emirs, and at last was forced to fly and conceal himself in the house of a friend, 1501.

Kansuh-el-Ghuri, who was 60 years old when he was chosen to succeed, was a man of great power and ability. He renewed various taxes which had fallen into disuse, and imposed new ones, and succession and death duties under him were so heavy that the property remaining was worth little to the owners. However, the money thus raised was chiefly spent on public improvements. The forts of Alexandria, Rosetta, and Cairo were repaired, mosques and colleges were erected, and caravanseries were built and wells dug on the road to Mekka. His Court was a brilliant one, his dress and style of living were magnificent, and he was a liberal patron of musicians and poets. The earlier part of his reign was uneventful; but in 1503 the trade with India, of such vital importance to Egypt, was threatened with destruction by the Portuguese. In 1497, Vasco da Gama had found his way to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and the trade which formerly came to the Red

Sea ports now reached Europe by the new route. The Portuguese waylaid the trading ships, seized and destroyed them, and the princes of India appealed to Ghuri for protection. He tried to make terms with the Spaniards and Portuguese through the Pope, threatening to desecrate the Christian shrines of the Holy Land if they were not accepted. As his demands were unheeded, Ghuri sent his fleet, which destroyed the Portuguese ships in 1508 off Chaul, under Lorenzo, son of Almeida; but some years later the Portuguese, under Albuquerque, seized Aden (1513), and dealt its deathblow to the Indian trade of Egypt by the Red Sea.

The accounts of the commerce of Egypt as told in the letters of various Venetians of this date give vivid details of the difficulties under which their trade was carried on, but which was so considerable that in spite of numerous obstacles it continued to flourish.

Selim I. was now Sultan of Turkey. He was more ambitious than his father Bayezid II., and, having subdued Persia, was determined to add Egypt to his dominions. In 1514 he invaded Dhu-l-Kadr, a frontier province of Egypt, killed its chief, sent his head to Ghuri at Cairo, and continued increasing his army on the borders. Ghuri saw his danger too late; he was growing old and therefore less able to lead the powerful army he had raised against Selim, and with which he marched north to Aleppo. Here a sharp battle took place, August 1516; the Egyptians were defeated and fled, some under Kheyr Bey having gone over to the enemy, and Ghuri, seeing the day going against him, knelt down on his prayer-carpet[1] and was trampled to death by the horses of the pursuers and pursued. By command of Selim, his body was given burial as befitted his rank. His mosque is still one of the most beautiful in Cairo.

Tuman Bey, who had been left as Viceroy at Cairo, was elected Sultan. He accepted the position unwillingly, but during his reign, which was very short, he ruled well and justly, and was popular throughout the country. He was unable, in spite of great efforts, to check the advance of the Turks. Selim sent envoys to Cairo calling on the Mamluk Sultan to surrender the country to him, but they were killed by the Emirs, and the Ottomans marched on Egypt. They overwhelmed the garrisons at Gaza and El-Arish, and by clever stratagem reached the Nile Valley. On the 22nd January 1517 a decisive battle was fought near Heliopolis, when the Egyptians were routed, and fled two miles up the Nile. Tuman Bey fought bravely, but Selim entered Cairo. The Citadel was taken and

[1] See page 338.

the garrison massacred. At the end of March, Tuman Bey, who had been joined by both Mamluks and Bedawins, once more engaged the Turks near the Pyramids. But all efforts were unavailing; he was again defeated, and taken before Selim, who imprisoned him, and at last put him to death, on April 14.

Selim remained 8 months at Cairo, when he returned to Constantinople, carrying with him an enormous amount of plunder. He took with him Mutawekkil, the last Khaliph of Egypt, but permitted him shortly to return to Cairo, where he died in 1538, bequeathing his spiritual rights and the Khaliphate to the Ottoman Sultan, by whose successors they are claimed to this day.

Thus closed this page of Egyptian history, as Egypt became from henceforth a portion of the dominions of Turkey.

CHAPTER X

THE OTTOMAN RULE

"And through thy portals poured the gorgeous flood
Of jewelled Sheikh and Emir, hastening,
Before the sky the dawning purple showed,
Their turbans at the Caliph's feet to fling."

CROLE: *The Alhambra.*

IN spite of being subjected to new masters and having lost its independence, Egypt felt but little change in its internal government.

The Sultan of Turkey reserved to himself supreme power over the whole country, and promised protection from foreign foes, appointing a Pasha, or Viceroy, as his representative at Cairo. Before returning to Constantinople, Selim divided the country into 24 districts, each presided over by a Mamluk Bey; by this means hoping to curtail their individual power. He also organised a Ruling Council, or "Divan," at Cairo, composed of the Governor of Cairo, or "Sheykh-el-Beled"; the Chief of the Janisaries, or "Aga"; the Chief Accountant, or "Deftadar"; the "Governor of Upper Egypt," and the "Chief of the Sherifs," or "relations of the Prophet." This Council controlled the departments of the State, and to it all complaints were brought by the Mamluk Beys who ruled in the provinces. Naturally there were endless feuds and jealousies, and the country was a scene of incessant strife. The Mamluks grew more and more powerful, owing to the importation of large numbers of fresh slaves, principally from Circassia and the Caucasus, to meet the increasing demands of the Beys for their establishments. After a few years' service these slaves were freed, obtained lands in the country, and in their turn imported slaves, each remaining, however, faithful to his former master and rallying round him at his call.

Turkey being then much concerned with defensive wars, neglected the affairs of Egypt, and allowed these turbulent

elements to foment unheeded for the next 200 years. During this period Egyptian history remains almost a blank. The power of the Beys increased, and the constant ambition of each was to make himself of greater importance than his neighbour. The authority of the Pasha appointed by the Porte was thrown aside, and the office became more and more a sinecure. Perhaps one may draw a parallel between the history of this period and that of the times before the dawn of the New Empire in Egypt, when the governors of the nomes were in constant rivalry, and whichever was strongest at the moment was of almost more importance than the Pharaoh.

Some interesting details of the years between 1692 and 1708 may be gleaned from the notes on the country made by M. de Maillet, who was then Consular Representative of the French monarch, Louis XIV. He speaks of the native industries, of agriculture and trade, and the condition of the people and the slaves, for whom enormous sums were often paid, and of the Coptic Church. He specially mentions Egyptian antiquities, deploring the breaking up of fine columns by order of the Emirs and Pashas, and the necropoli that were pillaged for the treasures they were supposed to contain.

Another well-known author who visited Egypt in 1737 was Dr. Pococke, who wrote his impressions of the country and people.

Although of no importance in the political history of the world, Egypt was still a high road for trade, and Cairo continued to be a flourishing city under the Othmanli Pashas. Its merchants were wealthy, and filled their splendid houses with art treasures, and some formed libraries. El-Azhar was a centre of Mohammedan learning, and many beautiful buildings were erected by the Emirs and Pashas. The mosques of the Othmanli period were of the "gami" type,[1] and many now remaining were built towards the close of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries; such are the Seyyida Safiya, 1604; the Muyyad, built by Ahmad Pasha in 1690, and the Arbain in 1704. Othman Bey, 1739, was also a builder, and Rudwan made a fine palace at the Esbekiyeh about the same date. But Cairo owed most at this period to the beautiful buildings erected by the powerful Emir Abd-er-Raman. He restored el-Azhar and the mosque called Seyyida Zeynab, which contains the body of the granddaughter of the Prophet. Ali Bey in 1768 built the Bulak Mosque, and Mohammed Bey the last of the great mosques of this time in 1774.

It is not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that any figure of interest appears on the scene. Othman Bey, who

[1] See page 257.

was Emir el-Hagg in 1739, rose to be the most prominent man in Egypt, and was much respected for his noble character and his good example, so that for long after his rule was looked back upon as a golden age.

One of the Mamluk Beys, Ibrahim Aga, in 1746 had acquired 8 of the 24 provinces, and also had secured the alliance of the powerful chief Rudwan. Ibrahim despised the authority of the Pasha who was in command of the Azhab troops. Disputes arose, and in a skirmish Rudwan was killed, with several other chiefs. During the confusion that ensued, Ali Bey, who had been promoted to the rank of Sheykh-el-Beled, became master of Egypt, and in 1766 expelled the Pasha and declared himself Sultan. He had coins struck in his name in 1768, and organised a successful expedition into Arabia under the command of Mohammed Bey. He endeavoured to revive the direct trade with India through Jedda, by sending a fleet from Suez under another Mamluk, Hasan Bey, to take that port. Mohammed Bey assisted him with the land forces, and they were entirely successful. Flushed with this victory, Ali Bey decided to try to regain for Egypt the possession of Syria, his first step being to order 500 Mamluks to proceed to Gaza, where they were joined by Sheykh Daher, likewise a rebel, with a force of 40,000 men; the joint commanders being Sheykh Daher and Mohammed Bey.

The combined forces marched to Damascus, where they encountered the army of Osman Pasha; but after a severe struggle, lasting three days, the Turks were beaten and the city reduced to ruins. The victorious army was about to enter the town, when, to their consternation, the signal to retire was given by Mohammed Bey, who had been bought over by Osman, and thus betrayed Ali. This treacherous act so disorganised the army, that it fled in confusion.

Mohammed, after having turned traitor, raised troops for himself and marched to Cairo, where he defeated the forces of Ali in 1772, and entered the city. Ali fled to Syria and joined Sheykh Daher. They attacked the Turks at Sidon, and gained a victory over foes three times their number. Their campaigns were for a time successful, but one night on his return from Gaza, Ali was waylaid by 1000 Mamluks of Mohammed's army, and taken prisoner by Murad. His captor treated him with the greatest apparent courtesy, but within a few days his death occurred mysteriously.

Mohammed had now no rival, and made a series of brilliant and successful expeditions, but in 1776 he died of fever at the zenith of his prosperity. His influence being removed, factions

soon commenced. Murad and Ibrahim Bey were each striving for the mastery with an army of followers; but finding themselves opposed by the other Beys, who were determined not to submit to their tyranny, they resolved to combine and share the power between them for the present, with the assistance of Bekri Pasha, governor of Cairo.

In 1786 the Porte once more found leisure to attend to Egypt and its affairs, and a famous general, Hasan Pasha, was sent there to restore order and insist on obedience. He landed at Alexandria, and was met by Murad Bey near Cairo. A desperate encounter followed, but in the end the Turks triumphed. Hasan rearranged the districts, giving the Beys jurisdiction only over the tract of land between Berber and the Nubian frontier, and showing much wisdom in his decrees. Unfortunately he died of the plague in 1790, and Murad and Ibrahim at once returned and resumed their authority at Cairo.

New dangers now threatened Egypt. France had long been jealous of the growing trade of Great Britain with India, and thought that if she could only gain a sure footing in Egypt, and connect the Mediterranean with the Red Sea by means of a canal, she could not only prevent England carrying on trade by that route, but also open up commerce for herself with Africa and Arabia. It was a scheme after Napoleon Bonaparte's own heart, and he urged its execution with all his eloquence, even hinting that the possession of the Red Sea would lead to the conquest of India in due time. The expedition was hurried on, and preparations made as quickly as possible, and on 18th May 1798 an army of 40,000 men left Toulon under the command of Bonaparte and Generals Kleber, Desaix, Menou, Regnier, Murat, Davoust, Dommartin, and several others. The French fleet arrived off Alexandria on 1st July, and on the 5th the place was taken. Having desired his engineers to erect strong fortifications there, Bonaparte hastened towards Cairo, near which town the Mamluks opposed him, but were defeated. Hearing that another army under Murad Bey was awaiting him farther on, he marched to Embabeh, near the Pyramids, and there completely routed the enemy at "The Battle of the Pyramids," both Ibrahim and Murad being compelled to fly, and Cairo surrendered to the French.

While Bonaparte was thus engaged, Nelson appeared off Alexandria with the English fleet. He attacked the French under General Brueys, and after an action lasting several hours, 2 of the French ships were blown up, 2 disabled, and 9 captured. This celebrated victory is known as "The Battle of the Nile," 1st August 1798. One of the ships blown up was the 3-decker

"L'Orient," 120 guns, having on board great treasures belonging to the Knights of Malta, which had been carried off by Bonaparte. Casabianca and his brave son met their deaths on this vessel.

Bonaparte divided his forces into three: one was left for the protection of Cairo, another pursued Ibrahim towards Syria, and the third, under Desaix, drove the Mamluks into Upper Egypt. Great Britain having formed an alliance with Turkey, an army under Sir Sydney Smith hurried from Asia Minor to the Syrian frontier, and arrived off Akka on March 17.

Bonaparte now found himself in a dangerous position, and determined to go at once to Syria. Having occupied Jaffa, and shot all the prisoners in cold blood, he marched on to besiege Akka, which was so bravely defended by Djezza Pasha that he was obliged to abandon the attempt after two months, both armies having suffered much loss and hardship. Bonaparte then retired to Cairo, where he began to reorganise his forces. That portion of the army which had gone in pursuit of the Mamluks had failed to provoke Murad to battle, and Bonaparte was about to proceed against him in person, when he had to turn his attention to the landing of a large body of Turks at Abukir, where the English and Turkish squadron were assembled. Here he engaged the enemy, and after great slaughter defeated them; the remnant of the Turks threw themselves into Lake Mareotis, and perished. The Turkish general again attacked the French with a reserve force, but of these, 4000 were driven into the sea, and the general, Mustafa Pasha, and his staff made prisoners.

On the 26th July 1799, Bonaparte returned to Alexandria, and there hearing of the reverses of his army in Europe, he departed on 22nd August, leaving sealed orders with his generals, which contained his commands desiring them all to follow him with the exception of two, Generals Desaix and Kleber, who were to remain in Egypt.

On 24th September, a Turkish fleet, under the command of Sir Sydney Smith, anchored off Damietta; and on 1st November 4000 Turks under Said Ali Bey landed. The French immediately attacked under General Verdier, and defeated the Turks with great loss. On 3rd December, General Kleber offered conditions of peace, and in January these were signed by the generals on both sides. Vice-Admiral Lord Keith was the last to agree to these terms. This delay gave Kleber an opportunity of reinforcing himself and renewing hostilities; and an engagement took place at Materieh, when the Turks fled in disorder, and Kleber marched on Bulak, and afterwards entered Cairo amid great rejoicing and illuminations. Kleber lived for

a short time in Murad Bey's villa at Gizeh, where he was assassinated by a janissary while walking on the terrace, June 14, 1800. His body was taken to the Kasr-el-Ayny Hospital, and afterwards removed to France.

General Menou succeeded to the command of the army, and the British determined to force the French to evacuate Egypt.

On 8th March 1801, Sir Ralph Abercromby landed at Abukîr Bay with a strong force, and engaged the French under General Friant, who was repulsed after two hours' fighting. Several skirmishes took place on the way, but a great battle was fought four miles from Alexandria on the 21st March, when both sides suffered severely, and Sir Ralph Abercromby was mortally wounded. During this battle the young Albanian, Mohammed Ali, who afterwards became so famous, was conspicuous for his bravery. General Hutchinson then took command and marched towards Cairo, being joined by Ibrahim, the successor of Murad Bey (who had died of the plague), with 1500 cavalry. Reverses followed the French, and Menou was bombarded in Alexandria by General Coote. His position there was very critical, owing to the English having cut the ridges separating the fresh-water Lake Mareotis from the sea, thus stopping the water supply of the city and destroying one of the great works of the ancient Egyptians. After a brave but vain defence, Menou was compelled to listen to terms of peace, and the garrison capitulated on the 2nd September on the same terms as had been accepted by the general commanding at Cairo on the 25th June, the conditions being that they were to be allowed to return unmolested to France, carrying with them their arms, baggage, and colours.

Thus the French departed from Rosetta on the 18th of September, after their unfortunate and unsuccessful campaign in Egypt. Even in this short period Bonaparte's active brain had made schemes for the improvement of the country, and had set about to readjust its laws and taxes, and improve its commerce and manufactures. He had established a camel corps for expeditions against the Bedawin, and had laid out pleasure gardens for his troops. He founded the Institute of Egypt 21st August 1798, Monge Bey being made president, and himself head of the mathematical section. One great and lasting result of the Society was the archæological survey of the country made by order of Bonaparte, the results being published in 1809 under the direction of M. Jomard, in a magnificent work of 23 volumes, illustrated with maps and coloured plates. Sixty *savans* were employed in its compilation, special subjects or districts being allotted to each. Bonaparte caused excavations

to be made at Memphis, but the antiquities found there and destined for France are now in the British Museum.

General Hutchinson remained in command in Egypt. He insisted that Hasan, the "Capitan Pasha," should restore their rights and privileges to the Mamluk Beys, and Ibrahim to his office of Sheykh-el-Beled. Hasan appeared to agree to these proposals, and completely deceived General Hutchinson as to his real intentions. He invited the principal Beys to stay with him in his camp at Abukir, and after treating them with great hospitality for some weeks, he gave a pleasure party on the water. All at once ships filled with Turkish soldiers came in view, and fired upon the unfortunate Beys, who fought desperately, but were nearly all killed, the remaining few being taken prisoners. The English were furious with Hasan for his abominable treachery, and insisted on the prisoners being given up to them. Hasan immediately left for Constantinople, where he was afterwards beheaded by the Sultan. Mohammed Khusruf succeeded him as Pasha in 1801, who, though an able man, was not equal to the position. The Mamluks under Bardissy, one of the released prisoners, defied him, so Khusruf sent a force against them, calling in the aid of 6000 Albanians under the command of Tahir, their chief, and Mohammed Ali. A battle was fought near Damanhur, in the Delta, where the Turks were defeated with a loss of about 5000 men. The Albanians were unable to arrive in time for the battle, and Khusruf made this a pretext for a quarrel with Tahir and Mohammed Ali. This led to a serious revolt, which resulted in the overthrow of Khusruf and the establishment of Tahir, the Albanian chief, who, however, only held office for 22 days, as on the occasion of a dispute about the pay of the army he was attacked and assassinated.

On the 14th of March 1803 the English evacuated Alexandria and returned to England, taking with them Elfy Bey, one of the chief Mamluk leaders, to discuss and arrange the best means of restoring order to Egypt.

The Mamluks under Osman now entered into an alliance with the Albanians under Mohammed Ali. Ali Gezayirli was sent by the Porte to be Pasha in place of Khusruf, but shortly afterwards was convicted of intrigue by both Bardissy and Mohammed Ali, and was forcibly removed by their orders, and murdered by his guard on the way to Syria. On the 12th February 1804, Elfy Bey returned from England, but Mohammed Ali and Bardissy, fearing his power, conspired together and drove him from the country. However, soon after this, Mohammed Ali quarrelled with Bardissy, demanding the arrears of payment for his Albanians. In spite of the money

having been raised by cruel extortion, Mohammed Ali made this a pretext for a sanguinary rising, in which Bardissy and old Ibrahim Bey were obliged to fly the country. The succeeding Pasha, Khurschid, was powerless to restore order, and his one year of office was marked by anarchy and bloodshed. Meanwhile Mohammed Ali's popularity was increasing, and in 1805 he was unanimously chosen as their ruler by the chiefs of Cairo.

Mohammed Ali was of humble origin, born at Cavallo, a village in Albania, in 1769. He was adopted when a child by a wealthy Aga, or Zahit, chief of police in his native village, who had him taught the use of arms and other accomplishments. He assisted the governor of that place in collecting taxes, and in this way acquired much experience in managing the people and the revenue. He also made money by dealing in tobacco and other goods, and married a rich wife. His appearance and manner won for him the devotion of the Egyptian army; he was handsome, with flashing eyes, and is said to have had a most wonderful smile, which, when angry, could change into a terrifying frown. Though short in stature, his figure was graceful and athletic, and showed to special advantage on horseback, as he was a splendid rider. He performed wonderful feats with his sword, and, like Saladin, could cut through a silk handkerchief thrown into the air.[1] His manners were courteous and pleasing; and though kind and generous to his friends, he was revengeful and implacable to his foes.

The power of Mohammed Ali increased so rapidly that the Porte feared him in Egypt, and sent him to Jedda as governor; but he was received back into favour through the intervention of his friend M. Drovetti, the French Consul. He had scarcely returned to Cairo when the Porte tried to re-establish the Mamluks, offering him the Pashalik of Salonica, which he refused, owing to the entreaties of his devoted followers. The Porte finding it would be dangerous to insist on his removal, was obliged to yield, and he was formally appointed Viceroy in 1806. The Beys refused allegiance, so Mohammed Ali took advantage of a revolt of the Mamluks in Cairo to have a great many of them shot as they passed to the Bab-Zulek. Others took refuge in a mosque, and their lives were spared upon giving up their arms.

In 1807 the English landed a force of 5000 men at Alex-

[1] A sword with which he performed this feat was given by him to my father, and is now in my possession. The story of this gift throws a curious light on Mohammed Ali's savage character and his contempt for human life. Wishing to show the quality of the blade, he had a slave brought in, intending to sever the unfortunate man's head; but my father intervened, and the Pasha proved the excellence of the sword by cutting the silk handkerchief instead.—M. A of H.

andria under Major Fraser, their object being to unite with the Beys against the Porte. The Mamluks were then in Upper Egypt, defending themselves against Mohammed Ali, who had proceeded in person in pursuit of them. Disappointed in their expected allies, the British force was not strong enough to resist their enemies, and the expedition failed. At first they had hoped for success, as they had taken Alexandria and afterwards proceeded to Rosetta. Here they entered the town unopposed, but once within, were ruthlessly shot down in the narrow streets. General Wauchope with 300 officers and men were killed or wounded. A second futile attempt was made to destroy the walls and burn the town; but the English were forced to retreat to Alexandria under the skilful guidance of General Sir John Oswald. Many of the English prisoners taken were barbarously treated, and 450 heads were exposed in the Esbekiyeh at Cairo.

On 22nd September the remnant of the army re-embarked for Sicily, and the Mamluks were so disheartened by this disaster to their allies that they ceased contending with the Porte, and gave themselves up to pleasure and indolence.

Still, in spite of their diminished power, the Mamluks were too formidable a body to please Mohammed Ali, who now began to revolve plans to rid himself of them. He tried to gain their favour by giving them valuable presents. They, unmindful of the warnings of the aged Ibrahim, who knew well the craftiness of Mohammed Ali, listened to the tempter and believed in his protestations of friendship. It was not, however, till 1811 that Mohammed Ali lured them to Cairo to participate in the festivities arranged to take place when his son Tusun was invested by the Porte with the caftan and rank of Pasha of Two Tails, previous to his departure to take command of the army against the Wahabîs in Arabia. On the 1st of March the Mamluks were guests at a great banquet at the Citadel, and afterwards drank coffee with the Pashas in the Hall of Audience; then, mounting their chargers, they rode out of the Citadel, but found the gate of el-Azab locked and the rising ground on either side lined with Albanian soldiers, who opened a deadly fire upon them. The Mamluks drew their swords, and while trying to climb the heights, fought desperately, but were utterly overpowered and slain. Only one was supposed to have escaped by leaping his horse over the wall. This well-known legend has but little foundation, though one man, Amyn Bey, is said to have escaped to Spain.[1] The Pasha, sitting in his palace, could hear the reports of the guns, and suffered agonies

[1] Paton, page 32.

A PENCIL SKETCH FROM LIFE BY THE LATE ADMIRAL MITFORD

of suspense and fear, as, had his cruel plot not succeeded, his own career would have been a very short one. His relief was great when tidings reached him that the awful deed was accomplished. Twenty-three Beys, with more than 1000 followers, perished during this tragedy. The Albanians entered Cairo in triumph, and for three days plundered and ravaged the city, till Mohammed Ali was forced to come out from the Citadel and restore order. These massacres leave a deep stain on the character of Mohammed Ali which no excuses can justify, although, had he not broken the power of the Mamluks, they would have undoubtedly been masters in Egypt.

Feeling now secure, Mohammed Ali turned his attention to Arabia, where his son Tusun had already been successful against the Wahabîs. The founder of this sect was Mohammed Abdel Wahab. He was born in 1696, and was educated as a strict Moslem at Bussorah. He made a pilgrimage to Mekka and Medina, and was shocked at the laxity among some professing Islam. Being very strict and austere in his own observances, he formed a sect who rigidly adhered to the laws of the Prophet, and retired with his followers to Darayeh, which he made his capital. The Wahabîs increased, and grew powerful and formidable, and, having taken Mekka and threatened Baghdad, it became needful to put them down with a strong hand.

Tusun took Medina, and sent the keys of the town, together with costly gifts, to the Sultan at Constantinople, but after this reverses had overtaken him, and the arrival of his father Mohammed Ali was very opportune, inspiring the army with fresh zeal. Mohammed Ali proceeded to Mekka, of which he took possession, and worshipped at the shrine of the Prophet.[1] After some further conquests, the Wahabîs sued for peace, their resources having become exhausted from the long campaign, which had lasted 4 years. While still in Arabia, Mohammed Ali received the news of Bonaparte's escape from Elba, and feeling that his presence was required in Egypt, he immediately sailed from Jedda to Kosseir, and arrived at Cairo on the 18th June 1815 (the day of the battle of Waterloo). On his return he busied himself with the improvement of his army, and engaged some French officers to instruct the soldiers in drill and discipline. His orders were very strict and punishments severe, and after a time the men mutinied, murdered their officers, and proceeded to the Pasha's palace. Fortunately, on their way they stopped to loot the bazaars, which gave Mohammed Ali time to prepare for the attack. His coolness and

[1] He was a strict Moslem, and might constantly be seen telling his prayer beads. One amber rosary which belonged to him is now in my possession.—M. A. of H.

strength of character saved him, and he proclaimed that if the troops would return to their duty he would grant an amnesty and abandon the hated system of drill. He also promised to refund the losses suffered by the inhabitants, and by these prompt measures he tided over a great difficulty.

The peace with the Wahabîs was soon broken. Suhud, their chief, marched upon Medina, and afterwards Mekka, which he entered without resistance. He broke into the tomb of the Prophet and took from it the valuable jewels and golden vessels it contained, which had long been held sacred by the Moslems. Such daring sacrilege called for severe measures, and the Government of the Porte desired the Viceroy of Egypt to proceed at once to punish the offenders. Tusun having died of the plague, Ibrahim, Mohammed Ali's eldest son, was sent to Arabia in 1816. He met with great opposition and many hardships, but at last besieged Darayeh, which surrendered after 3 months, and Ibrahim killed all the inhabitants and razed the city to the ground. The terror of his name spread far and wide, and he was called "The Scourge of Arabia."

During this campaign Mohammed Ali was busy in his capital with his original scheme of modelling his army upon European lines. He again secured the services of a French officer, Colonel Sèves, to whom he entrusted this task, assisting personally in every detail. Sèves was ordered to accompany Ismail Pasha, Mohammed Ali's fifth son, on a campaign to the Sudan, where the new system of warfare was to be tried, and Mohammed Ali promised large rewards if it proved successful, and a high command if he would embrace Islam. This Sèves refused, but was afterwards induced to accept these terms by Drovetti. He then became known as Suleyman Bey, and lived in a palace on the island of Roda.

A detachment of troops was sent to the Great Oasis of Siwa, or Jupiter Ammon, which was annexed after severe fighting. The expedition to the Sudan started in June 1820, the army mustering about 6000. It was joined at Wady Halfa by the few Mamluks left, who had their camp at Dongola. At Korti an engagement took place, and Ismail marched on to Khartûm.[1] So far the army had been victorious, and in 1821 it was arranged that Ismail was to advance up the Blue Nile, while Ibrahim, who had returned from Arabia, went up the White Nile, and if successful, all were to return together triumphantly. Ismail was accompanied by a party of French savants, one of whom, M. Cailland,[2] has left a graphic account of the journey.

[1] Meaning "elephant's trunk."

[2] *Voyage à Meröe.*

Ibrahim, through illness, was obliged to return to Cairo, and Mohammed Ali sent a third force under Mohammed Bey Defterdar into Kordofan, where he perpetrated terrible atrocities, and finally took the province in 1822. Ismail's cruelties also were so horrible that the chief Nimr conspired against him, and at Shendy his tent was set on fire, he and his officers being burnt alive.

The Defterdar revenged this deed by wholesale massacres, and the country was ravaged for 15 years, till at last Dr., afterwards Sir John Bowring, who was sent to report on Egypt by Lord Palmerston's Government, brought the state of affairs to the notice of Mohammed Ali, who went himself to the Sudan. He arrived at Khartûm, and proclaimed the abolition of the slave trade, returning to Alexandria after only 6 months' absence. He failed to find the gold mines he expected, but strengthened his army with Sudanese recruits.

The efficiency of his army was not the only care of Mohammed Ali. He had long cherished the ambition of creating also a splendid navy, and had for years been building ships of war. In 1810 the first Egyptian corvette was equipped under the superintendence of Captain Robert Mitford, and followed by many others, so that a strong naval force, equal to that of the Porte itself, was prepared for action. Its services were soon called upon, as it was ordered to proceed to Greece to quell the insurrection there, and 60 ships of war, under the command of Ibrahim Pasha, sailed from Alexandria in July 1824 with a large army, though, owing to various vicissitudes, it did not arrive off the Morea till February 1825. Ibrahim was successful during the first part of the campaign, but his cruelties to the Greeks and the exportation of Greek slaves to Cairo aroused much indignation in Europe. He had ignored Sir Harry Neale's warning given two years earlier, therefore the English, French, and Russian fleets combined against him in 1827. They entered the harbour of Navarino, where the Turkish and Egyptian fleets were lying, and after a severe engagement completely destroyed them, and Turkey lost the possession of Greece.

In 1831, Mohammed Ali resolved to cast off the Turkish yoke, and commenced a series of brilliant victories against the Ottoman troops. He first took Gaza and Jaffa, and Akka fell, after a long and severe siege of 7 months, on the 27th May 1832. The battle of Damascus and the surrender of Aleppo gave him the possession of Syria; Mount Taurus proved no obstacle to advance, and his fiery son Ibrahim swept over the plains of Anatolia till Konyeh, or Iconium, was reached.

There a desperate attempt was made by the Turks to retrieve their fortunes, but it was of no avail; their fleet was destroyed, and Constantinople itself threatened in July 1832. The terrified Sultan sought European intervention, which was accorded by Russia, and a treaty was made by which Syria was secured to Mohammed Ali, but he was compelled to recognise the Turkish Sultan as his sovereign. Ibrahim was appointed governor of the Holy Cities, and "Mohassil," or collector of the revenues of Adana. This treaty was finally arranged on 14th May 1833, and was called the "Convention of Kiutahieh." The organisation and defence of Syria now became the chief care of Mohammed Ali and his son Ibrahim. Great caution was necessary, as any attempt to make drastic changes would have been resented and have caused further rebellion. Many Egyptians had settled in Damascus, and Ibrahim had no trouble with that city or with Aleppo; but in 1834 a serious revolt occurred in Southern Syria, and Ibrahim was forced to take refuge in Jerusalem. Mohammed Ali came in person to the assistance of his son, and landed at Jaffa, several chiefs recognising his authority. His strongest ally was Emir Beshir, the prince of the Lebanon, who, in consequence of the rebellion of some of his people against Ibrahim, ordered the disarmament of the whole tribe, and insisted that Mohammed Ali should be well received in his territory. The Christians and the Druses were likewise ordered to send in their weapons, and further resistance was rendered impossible by the disarming of the population. The discontent caused by this measure was greatly increased by the conscription which was ordered for the increase of the army, and which was carried out with great sternness and brutality. The men were seized, and could only obtain release by paying heavy fines; their horses also were taken without any payment, and the result was a crowd of unwilling, discontented additions to the soldiery.

Other reforms were more satisfactory: a better system of police protection had been established to check the depredations of the desert tribes, and money was advanced from Egypt for the improvement of agriculture. But there were many malcontents, and from time to time letters complaining bitterly of the oppression of Ibrahim were sent by the Syrians to Sultan Mahmud.

In the winter of 1839, Mohammed Ali being in the Sudan, advantage was taken of his absence, and plans for war were discussed at Constantinople, and preparations for an Egyptian campaign decided on. Viscount Ponsonby, England's representative at the Ottoman Court, strongly advised delay and

prudence, and the ministers of the other European Courts concurred in this opinion; but the Sultan preferred the advice of his commander-in-chief, Hafiz Pasha. He was brave, courteous, and honest, but perhaps over-sanguine as to the invincible power of the Turkish army. His counsels prevailed, and in spite of all remonstrance war with Egypt was declared, in which France and England firmly declined to take any active part.

Ibrahim Pasha lost no time on his side in making preparations for the fight. Conscription was more severe than ever, stores were gathered together, and precautions taken against the rising of the Druses and other Syrian tribes.

The Egyptian army was concentrated at Aleppo, and the Turks, having crossed the Euphrates, were stationed at Mezar. In consequence of a skirmish between the Bashi Bazuks, or wild irregular cavalry of the Sultan, and the Bedawin cavalry of the Egyptians, Suleyman Bey ordered the advance of the main body of the Egyptian troops on 31st May 1839, and the opposing forces met at Nezib. Fortune favoured the Egyptians, and after a desperate battle, which at one time appeared to be in favour of the Turks, Suleyman saw his opportunity, and, sword in hand, led his men to victory. The Turkish army retreated to Marash, leaving its baggage and ammunition on the field. Sultan Mahmud died before the news of this defeat of his great army reached Constantinople; this sorrow was therefore spared him, as well as the even more distressing news of the betrayal of his fleet by its admiral, Ahmed Fevzi. Nothing is actually known of this transaction, but little doubt remains that he was bribed by Mohammed Ali. On the 4th July the fleet left the Golden Horn and anchored in the Dardanelles, being, as was supposed, under orders for the coast of Syria, instead of which the admiral, Fevzi, commanded the fleet to assemble off Alexandria, which was the first warning received of its real destination, and the Egyptian and Turkish ships met about 10 miles outside the harbour on the 14th July 1839. The people of Alexandria were amazed to see their enemy's vessels peaceably entering the harbour, and still more so when Mohammed Ali's first secretary pushed off in the Pasha's own boat to receive the Turkish admiral. He was escorted on shore, mounted on the Pasha's horse, and was received by him in his palace with every mark of courtesy. Remonstrances were made by the European representatives at Alexandria, but Mohammed Ali turned a deaf ear, and replied, "In time of war it is permitted to receive deserters." The amalgamated fleets then remained anchored off Alexandria, the admiral refusing to return to Constantinople.

In the winter of 1839, Colonel Hodges succeeded Colonel Campbell as Consul-General in Egypt, and was directed to express to Mohammed Ali the goodwill of the British Government towards him so long as he conducted the government of his country on his former lines, but that any interference with the empire of the Sultan of Turkey would be resented by Great Britain, which was determined to uphold it "in its integrity." This ultimatum was communicated to Mohammed Ali by Colonel Hodges when he was presented to the Viceroy.[1]

Mohammed Ali refused to listen either to argument or friendly persuasion, and instead set about collecting both his military and naval forces. He fortified Abukir and the port of Alexandria with guns taken from the ships, and raised new levies of guards. He retained the Turkish fleet, and when remonstrated with by Colonel Hodges, grew very angry and much excited, and from this time further negotiations became impossible.

On the 15th July 1840 a Convention was agreed upon in London by the representatives of Austria, Prussia, Russia, the Porte, and Great Britain. This ensured protection to the Porte, and set forth the intentions of the Powers towards Mohammed Ali. He was to be given the hereditary administration of the Pashalik of Egypt, and permission to rule in Syria during his life. If these offers were not accepted in 20 days, even the Viceroyalty of Egypt was to be forfeited.

The Porte appointed Rifat Bey to convey these terms to Mohammed Ali, who refused to listen to them. Twenty days after, Rifat Bey asked for the reply, when Sami Bey, Mohammed Ali's confidential minister, said that his master had "accepted Egypt; but as to Syria, the Pasha's non-acceptance not being a refusal, he wishes to submit a request which he flatters himself you will submit to your Courts."

This evasive reply being rejected, the Porte at once proclaimed the Pasha's deposition, and the four European consuls-general immediately left Alexandria; at the same time France declared war against the Porte. Ibrahim was still at Damascus with a powerful army. He circulated a report that the French were coming to help Egypt, proclaimed himself the Champion of Islam, and likewise pointed out that English occupation would mean Christian supremacy in Syria. All this availed little; Syria was in a state of ferment, and Ibrahim was hampered by constant contradictory orders from his father.

War began, when a British squadron, under the command of

[1] Accompanied by A. A. Paton, author of *The Egyptian Revolution*, on which work much of this chapter has been based.

Sir Robert Stopford and Captain Napier, arrived off Beyrut, where a detachment landed; but the town resisted attack, and it was determined to begin operations by entrenching the forces on the shore of Djuny Bay, and to arm the mountaineers and secure their valuable assistance. The Allies possessed a great advantage, as steam was now applied to their shipping and enormously increased their power and rapidity of movement; the troops were placed in the steamboats, and landed after a few hours in good order. The position taken up by the Allies was a very strong one, with a mountainous country at its rear, and the "Dog River," or Nahr-el-Kelb, flowing down a deep gorge, providing abundance of delicious water.

After several small engagements, a sharp fight took place on 8th October 1840, when the Turks stormed the heights, and Ibrahim threw himself into the gorge with the remnant of his scattered forces, in the end escaping with great difficulty to Damascus, where he was joined by Suleyman. Sidon next capitulated; the fleet sailed to Akka, and on the 2nd November the bombardment began, Omar Bey having also arrived there with a detachment of Turkish troops. The Egyptians had not realised that the vessels could approach so near the fort; therefore their fire told fearfully, whereas that of the garrison flew harmlessly over the enemy. The action was at its height when all at once the chief magazine, containing an immense quantity of powder, was set alight by a shell falling into it, and it blew up with a terrible report. Masses of building flew up into the air: "two entire regiments . . . were annihilated, and every living creature within an area of 60,000 square yards ceased to exist." The governor managed to escape during the night, and next morning the British officers entered, and were appalled at the awful scene that met their view. This disaster completely overwhelmed Mohammed Ali, who seems to have lost heart for the first time, and now broke down in health and spirits. The day before he heard of the fall of Akka he publicly reproached the Consul-General of France, M. Cochelet, with the manner in which he had been deceived by that country, and the non-fulfilment of their promises.

On receipt of the fatal news, Mohammed Ali sent directions to Ibrahim to evacuate the whole of Syria. Orders for the retreat were delivered to him at Gaza by Colonel Rose (afterwards Lord Strathnairn). On receiving his father's letter, Ibrahim was greatly agitated; but he threw off his depression, and entertained the English officers with hospitality and Arab bands of music. Ibrahim Pasha returned by sea to Egypt, and the retreat of the army under Suleyman Pasha was accomplished

amid the greatest hardships through the desert route. Of the whole army in Syria of 62,500 men, only about a third survived.

Napier arrived at Alexandria on 21st November 1840, and took upon himself to communicate with Mohammed Ali as to the folly of further resistance. In this step he was aided by Consul Larking, and after several interviews and much discussion, the Pasha agreed to submit to the Sultan's terms. In January he addressed a letter to the Grand Vizier, begging him to lay his submission at the feet of the Sultan, and to implore his clemency towards an old and faithful servant. When this act became known to the four Powers, they framed a joint request that the inheritance of Egypt might be secured to Mohammed Ali and his successors, to which the Sultan agreed early in 1841. The Turkish fleet was restored to the Porte, and thus the ambitious preparations made only a few months previously to increase the power of Egypt and diminish that of Turkey, resulted in disaster, loss of territory and of prestige. Mohammed Ali never recovered the blow. His power was now limited to Egypt, his army disbanded, his voice no longer influenced the affairs of foreign countries. He was old, and worst of all, he had been conquered. Still, his great strength of character came to his aid, and his remaining energies were directed to the improvement of Egypt. He repaired the fortifications of Alexandria, and also the great Mahmudiyeh fresh-water canal which he had made in 1819, one of the greatest works of his life, which is still used to connect the Nile with the town. He had introduced in earlier years the American cotton-plant into Egypt as being more valuable than the native species, and thus increased the trade enormously. He carried the electric telegraph from Alexandria to Suez, and a Company, in which the Pasha had many shares, was formed under Mr. Thurburn to promote steam navigation on the Nile, and car traffic across the desert.

Mohammed Ali began to learn to read and write after he was 40; he was interested in all scientific discoveries, and the Institute for their promotion established at Cairo by the French was kept up by him. He did all he could to improve the hospitals, and in 1827 Clot Bey founded a School of Medicine and sent many men to France to study. The Kasr-el-Ayny was repaired and filled with patients, but after a few years it again became neglected.

In 1842–43, troubles arose in the Sudan under Ahmad Pasha, and troops were sent to quell the rising. In Egypt there was also a terrible murrain of cattle, followed by a plague of locusts and sickness among the people. The country was depopulated,

View of Cairo and the Pyramids from the Citadel Hill

and the taxes could only be raised by extortion; no one was allowed to own land, and panic and acute distress prevailed. In 1846, Ibrahim Pasha paid a visit to Paris and London, accompanied by Nubar Pasha, being magnificently received in both cities. This same year Mohammed Ali went to Constantinople to pay his homage to the Sultan. Although well received by him, the visit proved a very trying one, and the old Pasha returned sadly broken down in health. On his way home he visited his native town Cavallo, on which he bestowed handsome gifts. His last public act was to lay the foundation stone of the Barrage, or great weir, across the Nile, below Cairo, on 19th April 1847, which gigantic work was not completed till 50 years later. Towards the close of the year the Pasha became still more enfeebled, and went to Malta in the spring of 1848 for change of air, but his mind having now given way, his son Ibrahim was appointed regent.

Ibrahim accordingly went to Constantinople in August to pay his homage, but, after wintering in Naples for his health, which had gradually become undermined, he died at the age of 60, on the 10th of the following November. He was buried in the family vault at Imân-esh-Shafeh.

Abbas, the eldest grandson, succeeded as regent, but was at the time on a pilgrimage to Mekka, and did not return till December. Mohammed Ali lingered on in his palace of Shubra till 2nd August 1849, when he passed peacefully away in the 80th year of his age and the 44th of his reign. Much respect was shown to his remains by all, and he was laid to rest with great ceremony near his wife Anina in the splendid alabaster mosque erected by him on the hill of the Citadel at Cairo.

Abbas, son of Tusun and grandson of Mohammed Ali, succeeded to the Pashalik at the age of 36. He was ill-tempered, cruel, and indolent. He had little taste for literature or learning, but was ready to promote improvements in his country, and placed a steamer on the Nile. The railroad from Alexandria to Cairo was made during his reign. He delighted in horses, and had a fine stud of arabs. It was during the reign of Abbas that the Crimean War broke out, and he responded heartily to the Sultan's call for men and money; but he did not show himself so ready to act when an edict was issued from Constantinople ordering all Greeks to be expelled from the Sultan's dominions, but passively allowed them to remain under the protection of the flag of England.

Abbas loved solitude, and his favourite abodes were far from cities. In one of these, the Benha Palace, surrounded only by a

few slaves, he met his death, being strangled in his sleep; but the reason for this ghastly act remains a mystery.

Elfy Bey, governor of Cairo, being told of the murder, at once proceeded to the palace, 20 miles from Cairo, at night, placed the body in a carriage sitting upright, and accompanied it to the city, enjoining his escort not to divulge the death of the Pasha. Having pointed the guns of the Citadel on the streets of Cairo and fortified the garrison, he proclaimed the absent el-Hami, son of the deceased Pasha, the heir, instead of Said, who, being the eldest surviving male of the family, should have succeeded according to Egyptian law. Owing to representations made to the governor by the foreign consuls, he was finally induced to acknowledge Said, who was invested with the Pashalik, August 1854.

Said Pasha was a younger son of Mohammed Ali, and in appearance resembled his fair Georgian mother. He had been destined for the navy, was well educated, witty, and accomplished, spoke French and English, was fond of European society, and encouraged foreigners to settle in his country. He found Egypt prosperous; the revenue was ample, and he still further improved it by advancing trade and inviting clever engineers to carry on the public works. But he was not prudent, and lacked sound judgment.

In 1857, Said Pasha went to Khartûm to see for himself the state of the people. He was accompanied by M. de Lesseps and Arakel Bey, brother of Nubar Pasha. The latter was made governor of the Sudan, but unfortunately did not live long enough to make his good influence felt.

Said Pasha was regal in his hospitalities, and his open-air fêtes were a realisation of the "Thousand and One Nights." On 13th May 1858 one of these great fêtes was given in Alexandria at which all the members of the royal family were present, including Ahmad Pasha, eldest son of Ibrahim, and heir apparent to the Pashalik, and Halim, a young brother of Said. Ismail, a son of Ibrahim, was prevented by illness from accompanying them.

On their return journey by night, as they neared Kafr Zayat, the engineer saw to his horror that the drawbridge across the Nile had been left open. It was too late to avert the danger, and the train was precipitated into the rushing flood below. Halim, who was slight and active, succeeded in swimming ashore with a few others, but Ahmed, being fat and heavy, was drowned. By some malicious persons Said was accused of this monstrous act, but De Leon, who saw him just afterwards, writes that the Pasha was deeply grieved at this unmerited

suspicion, exclaiming, "Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?"[1]

Said largely extended irrigation works. The telegraph system was increased and the wires carried far up the Nile. Fresh railways were opened, and English troops were sent by his permission by the "Overland Route" from Cairo to Suez, during the Indian Mutiny. This route was a great source of profit, and so likewise was the increased demand for Egyptian cotton owing to the American War.

Said was induced by M. de Lesseps to give him the concession of the Suez Canal, which he was assured would render him independent both of England and the Porte. The Charter for the Canal had been granted to M. de Lesseps in 1856, and in 1863 the unfortunate Pasha found how terribly he had been misled. The Canal did not make him independent, nor had it been dug with French money, but had cost Egypt many millions, besides £E3,293,000 advanced by Frühling and Goschen. This disappointment told heavily upon Said's health, and he came to consult physicians in England. His complaint became much aggravated by anxiety and distress of mind, and he died in 1862. His wife Inja Hanûm was very beautiful. She was a Georgian slave chosen by Mohammed Ali to be his son's wife, and educated by him for her position. After the death of Said she was given a palace near Shubra, where she lived for many years, much beloved and respected.

[1] *The Khedive's Egypt*, page 156.

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CHAPTER XI

KHEDIVES

"'Tis a noble city that we seek:
Thou wilt behold magnificent palaces,
And lofty minarets, and high domed mosques,
And rich bazaars, whither from all the world
Industrious merchants meet and market there."
SOUTHEY: *Thalaba.*

ISMAIL PASHA, born 1830, grandson of Mohammed Ali, now the oldest member of the family, succeeded to the Pashalik on 18th January 1863. He held a great reception the following day, at which all the foreign representatives were present, and made a speech in which he set forth his exalted and enlightened views of future government.

He next proceeded to Constantinople to receive investiture and pay homage to the Sultan, who in April returned the visit by coming to Cairo, where he was magnificently entertained by the Pasha, who distributed lavish presents to him and to his suite. From 1863 to 1866 the enormous demand for Egyptian cotton in consequence of the American War was at its height, and added greatly to the revenue. This was the more acceptable as the expenses of the Suez Canal were ruinous, and thus Egypt was saved from immediate bankruptcy. In two years the exports rose from £400,000 to £1,400,000, and the imports from £1,000,000 to £5,000,000. Although Ismail's great desire seems to have been for the welfare and improvement of his country, he had no appreciation of the value of money. In the first year of his reign he took the fatal step of borrowing, beginning with a loan of £5,000,000, which in 1876 had reached the colossal sum of £91,000,000 sterling! It is impossible to give particulars of these transactions, but the money was spent in the country on great public works, such as the Ibrahimyeh Canal, great educational schemes, agricultural improvements and machinery, such as sugar factories, and the maintenance

and equipment of his army. His private expenditure was enormous. His opera-house, gardens, avenues, palaces, and his various establishments cost him fabulous sums; yet he was thrifty in household matters, and saved piastres while he lavished thousands of pounds.

In November 1864 an expedition was sent to Arabia to suppress a rising near Mekka; the following year another force went to Crete to assist the Turks against the Cretans, and about this time Suakin and Massowa were taken over from the Porte on consideration of increased tribute.

In 1865 Ismail went to Constantinople with an immense retinue in consequence of an outbreak of cholera in Egypt. Whilst there he negotiated and (by a large expenditure of money) obtained a firman which made the succession to the Viceroyalty of Egypt hereditary, instead of the former arrangement by which the eldest male representative of Mohammed Ali was to hold the Pashalik. This firman deprived Ismail's brothers Halim and Mustapha Fazil of their anticipated rights, and made Tewfik, his own son, heir apparent.

The following year, 1867, the Sultan granted the title of Khedive, or "Prince," to Ismail, a word of Persian origin, henceforth to be used by the Viceroys of Egypt. On 6th July Ismail visited Paris and London, where he was received with all possible honour. He occupied Dudley House, paid a state visit to Queen Victoria at Windsor, and was sumptuously entertained by the Lord Mayor. Private entertainments were given in his honour, and every consideration was shown him. The arrival of the Sultan in England somewhat hurried his departure to Paris. He was much fêted also in that capital, and sailed from Toulon to Constantinople, which he reached shortly after the Sultan's return.

During his absence, Nubar Pasha, an Armenian Christian, born in Smyrna in 1826, who had risen to the position of Ismail's Minister of Commerce, had conducted the affairs of State. He had been in Egypt since 1842, and had held many offices in the Government. This name will always be an honoured one in the annals of Egyptian history. His charm of manner and brilliant conversation won all hearts, while he endeavoured to manage the country with integrity and skill. Nubar Pasha died in Paris in 1899.

In 1868, when Ismail again left Egypt to visit Broussa, Sadik Pasha, the Finance Minister, was left in charge. He was the greatest contrast to Nubar. He was crafty, ignorant, and cruel, and it was owing to his tyranny that the unfortunate fellahîn were so oppressed, labour and taxes being wrung out of

them by the use of the terrible "kurbash."[1] His influence was unbounded with the Khedive, who was in great measure unaware of the barbarities perpetrated in his name; but when, years after, he was convinced of the truth of the allegations, he took Sadik to the Ghezireh Palace in his own carriage, had him arrested and apparently banished to Dongola. His death there was soon afterwards reported, but his fate remains shrouded in mystery.

King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra, when Prince and Princess of Wales, visited Egypt in February 1869, and on their return from their Nile voyage in March were present at the festivities of the "Bairam" at Cairo.

In May, Ismail started on what proved to be a royal progress to Venice, Corfu, Florence, Turin, Vienna, Berlin, Paris, and London. He was treated with even more distinction than before, Queen Victoria giving him the use of Buckingham Palace.

The Suez Canal was opened on the 16th November 1869. The Emperor and Empress of the French came to Cairo for the occasion, and stayed at the Ghezireh Palace; other royal visitors followed. The Empress led the procession of 48 ships on the 17th November, which entered the Canal at Port Said and proceeded to Ismailiyeh, the new town where the Khedive had erected a palace on Lake Timsah. Vessels here joined them which had started from Suez, thus proving the Canal navigable from end to end. There were 130 ships that day on the Canal. A series of magnificent entertainments, costing large sums of money, took place, and lasted several days, after which the distinguished visitors returned to Europe. The entire length of the Canal from Port Said to Suez is 99 miles. For the first 77 miles the width is 327 feet, the last 22 miles it is only 196; the uniform depth is 26 feet. It is free to all vessels, armed or unarmed, of all nations, both in peace and war; this was fixed by a Convention signed on 29th October 1888. The receipts in 1869 were £2178; in 1898, £340,790.

Although the Khedive Ismail was so unwise regarding the public affairs of his country, he was not unmindful of his duties as a parent, and bestowed great care on the education of his sons. Tewfik Pasha, the eldest, married in 1872 a daughter of Hami Pasha, son of Ahmed II. The second, Huseyn, was educated in Paris; the third, Hasan, at Oxford, where he took his D.C.L. degree; and the younger sons spent much of their youth in England. His daughters were taught European accomplishments, although they led secluded lives. 1875 was

[1] A whip made of hide.

a year of trouble, and financial difficulties pressed hard upon the Khedive. A squadron commanded by McKillop Pasha conveyed a force of 2000 men, under Ardendroop, an able Danish officer, against the Abyssinians; but the expedition failed, owing to the overwhelming force brought against it by King John. A battle was fought at Asawa, where Ardendroop and nearly all his men were slain. A second expedition was despatched under Prince Hasan, accompanied by Ratif Pasha, commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army. It was quartered at Massowa, but it was not till March 1876 that the real battle was fought, and the Egyptians claimed the victory. The Khedive recalled his troops, and little gain resulted from a very costly undertaking.

Money grew more and more scarce; the National Debt rose to £89,000,000. Altogether things were at their worst, when, on 25th November 1875, a proposal came from the English Government, through Lord Beaconsfield, to buy the Egyptian Canal Founders' Shares for £4,000,000, which offer saved Egypt.

Early in 1876, Mr. Cave and Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Wilson were deputed to inquire into the financial condition of Egypt. Among the reforms suggested and carried out about this time, the changes in the Tribunals of Justice were, perhaps, the most important. Scarcely any alteration could be made in the working of the Religious Courts, and in these all domestic questions were and are still tried; but the Civil and Criminal Courts admitted of much improvement. The first step was the formation of 3 Tribunals—at Cairo, Alexandria, and Ismailiyeh—each presided over by foreigners as well as natives, and known by the name of the "Mixed Tribunals." Their duties were to settle disputes between the Government and natives on the one hand and foreigners on the other, and their working has proved on the whole most successful. Nubar Pasha took an active part in the formation of these Tribunals, as he saw very clearly how useful they would be. The nationalities represented are 15 in number, and there are 17 judges, each recommended by his own country. English, French, Arabic, and Italian are the languages allowed. As Egypt progresses it may be that these Courts will be no longer needed, but the good they have already done cannot be denied. The Tribunals were constituted for a term of 5 years. Disputes between natives were left to their own Courts to decide, and of late years much has been done by Sir John Scott to improve them. Their number has been increased and their rules made more stringent. The Omdehs, or Head Sheykhs of villages, have been given limited judicial authority, and have had their position socially improved.

The Mudir is the Government agent in the provinces. He controls the police and looks after the hospitals and prisons. To reorganise his work or to introduce any improvements was a very difficult task, especially as he deeply resented any interference on the part of inspectors; but a system has now been arranged by which the Government, through its agents, is made aware of all that goes on.

In May of the same year an International Contract, called the "Caisse de la Dette," fixed the Egyptian Debt at £98,000,000, interest at 7 per cent. being guaranteed to the Powers. The report showed that £16,000,000 had been sunk in the construction of the Canal, which discovery so alarmed the bondholders that Mr. Goschen and M. Joubert were commissioned in October by the English and French Governments to examine the accounts. After their arrival the Decree was re-modelled, and the Debt reduced to £59,000,000. Two Controllers, one French and one English, were appointed, and this arrangement was known as the "Dual Control." Four Commissioners of the "Caisse" were also nominated, English, French, Austrian, and Italian, who were to receive the interest for the bond-holders. The required sum was not met in 1877, and in March 1878 a further Commission was authorised, presided over by M. de Lesseps, assisted by Mr. Rivers Wilson, Sir Evelyn Baring (now Earl Cromer), MM. de Blignières, Kremer, Barabelli, and Riaz Pasha. Their report was finally issued in April 1879, when all manner of extravagance and prodigality came to light. The most pardonable of these extravagances was the planting of Cairo and its environs with thousands of trees, which now shade the scorching roads and beautify the parks and gardens. This was begun in 1869. The Commission found that no more money could possibly be squeezed out of the unhappy country, and that the Khedive had been throughout fully cognisant of the abuses attributed to his ministers. The Commission had no resource but to confiscate the "Daira," or personal estates of the Khedive, who had been gradually buying up the land; but a further loan proved necessary, and £E8,000,000 was raised by Messrs. Rothschild. The Dual Control was suspended, and with great difficulty Ismail was induced to allow the appointment of Rivers Wilson and de Blignières, as Ministers of Finance and Public Works, to take its place. At the same time a fresh Cabinet was formed under Nubar Pasha.

Ismail had appeared to acquiesce in these arrangements, but in reality he was stirring up a revolution in the country, and on 18th February 1879, Rivers Wilson and Nubar Pasha were attacked and dragged from their carriage by the mob.

Ismail dismissed them from their offices, appointing his son Prince Tewfik as President of the Council, and Sherif Pasha as Prime Minister, in their stead.

The situation became intolerable, and the European Powers, Germany taking the lead through Prince Bismarck, declined henceforth to acknowledge Ismail as Khedive. On 27th June the Porte settled the matter by deposing him.

When Ismail received this intelligence from the Sultan, he desired Sherif Pasha to bring his son Tewfik to him, and as he entered the room the old Khedive rose, saluted him in a most dignified manner, kissed his hand in token of homage, and afterwards embraced him, saying that he hoped he would be more fortunate than his father had been.

Ismail was short, stout, and plain, but possessed great fascination of manner, and in conversation had the power of making every one feel that he had for the moment his undivided attention. He loved splendour and luxury, was a thorough Oriental and very impulsive, and he rarely paused to consider his actions; his will was absolute, and he cared little as to the means used to attain his ends. Had he been taught to use his powers in the best way, he would have been a more successful ruler, for he had at heart his country's good.

On the 30th June, when Ismail went on board the "Mahrousa," which was to convey him from his country, he was much overcome, and "soon the great yacht sunk below the golden sea-line, and with her disappearance closed one of the most dramatic chapters in Egyptian history."[1]

Tewfik succeeded his father Ismail as Khedive in 1879, being then about 27 years old. His mother was a beautiful slave, whom Ismail subsequently married and placed above his other wives, who had no sons. She brought up Tewfik with the greatest care, well knowing the jealousies and dangers that surrounded him; and he lived with her in her palace at Heliopolis. He was never sent abroad, but was educated at home by European tutors, and could converse fluently in English and French, besides having a knowledge of other European languages. He was a man of quiet and simple habits, a good son, husband, and father, in every way a contrast to Ismail, who, now living in Constantinople, was perpetually intriguing with the Sultan Abdul Hamid to be reinstated as Khedive. Dangers also threatened Tewfik through the jealousy of his uncle Halim, the last remaining son of Mohammed Ali. Tewfik was anxious to secure the prosperity of his country; he inquired personally into every measure suggested by the foreign

[1] McCoan, *Egypt as it is.*

Consuls, the Heads of Departments, and his own Prime Minister, Riaz Pasha, who attended daily at the palace.

The Dual Control was re-established in September 1879, Sir Evelyn Baring acting with M. de Blignières. In March 1880 a Commission was appointed "for the definite settlement of financial troubles," and in July the famous Law of Liquidation was passed. By this enactment the Unified Debt was fixed at £58,000,000 at 4 per cent., the Privileged Debt at £22,000,000 at 5 per cent., and the Daira and Domains Loans were kept apart as special mortgages.

By this Law of Liquidation the revenue was divided into two parts, one to be expended in the country, the other to be paid into the "Caisse" for the benefit of the bond-holders. If the revenue did not yield sufficient to pay the "Caisse," the Government was obliged to make up the required sum, but the "Caisse" was not asked to do the same by the Government.

"The limit of Expenditure is the essence of the Law of Liquidation . . . and is the keystone of the whole question"; it has had a permanent effect, not only on the finance of Egypt, but on its administration.[1]

It was unfortunate that Sir Evelyn Baring was obliged to leave for India at this critical moment; the Government was weak, the army discontented, and matters were generally in a very unsettled condition. The climax came in January 1881, when a reduction was proposed in military expenditure.

Arabi Pasha, an Egyptian full of fanatical patriotism, who had risen from the ranks and now commanded one of the regiments, resented this scheme, and also objected to the most important military commands being held by Turkish and Circassian officers. Being supported by the army, he formed a strong national party, and mutinied against the Khedive, forcing him to appoint Mahmoud Sami Minister of War. A few weeks later, Arabi obliged the Khedive to accept further terms, including the dismissal of Riaz Pasha, the substitution of Sherif as Prime Minister, the increase of the army, and his own appointment as Minister of War. In September 1881 Arabi and his new Cabinet passed revolutionary measures, and he also inflamed the people by proclaiming that Islamism was endangered by Christians being placed in authority. In January 1882 both France and England assured the Khedive of their support. An Envoy was sent from Çonstantinople, and a conference of Ambassadors was held there. Sherif Pasha retired, and Mahmoud Sami became Prime Minister in his stead.

[1] Lord Milner, *England in Egypt.*

In May it was known that an Anglo-French fleet was assembling at Suda Bay under orders to proceed to Alexandria. It anchored off that town on the 20th. Five days later, Sir Edward Malet, Consul-General, and his French colleague drew up an ultimatum which was offered to the Arabist Cabinet for acceptance. The principal terms insisted upon were the retirement of Arabi and the resignation of the Ministry. This caused consternation. The ministers asked the Khedive to refer to the Porte, but Tewfik was firm in his intention to accept the terms unreservedly. Being still pressed by his ministers, he finally consented to send to the Porte for a Commissioner, and Derwish Pasha came over from Constantinople, 7th June. But the Porte adopted a vacillating attitude towards the rebels. The Sultan sent a 1st Class Medjedieh Order to Arabi and several honours to his officers, but finding that England was firm, he altered his policy and ordered Arabi to come to Constantinople; this, however, he flatly refused to do. He stirred up the people in a fiery speech, demanding the deposition of the Khedive: the mob became more and more turbulent; all control was at an end, and on 11th June the Arabs ran about the streets of Alexandria massacring every European they could find. More than 150 lost their lives. Arabi was sent for, and tried his best to stop the massacre, succeeding at last in doing so; but panic seized upon the remaining Europeans, who all took to the ships as quickly as possible.

Arabi continued to strengthen his fortifications at Alexandria, in spite of warnings from both the Sultan and the Khedive, as well as from the British admiral, Sir Beauchamp Seymour (Lord Alcester). The admiral, acting on a telegram sent from England on the 6th, sent an ultimatum to Arabi on the 10th July, stating that if the work were not stopped within 24 hours, the forts would be bombarded. The French fleet had already withdrawn to Port Said, and in consequence the whole management of the affair was left to England. The work was continued in spite of the warning, and H.M.S. "Alexandra" fired the first shot at 7 a.m. on the 11th, which was answered by a heavy fire from the forts. The forts were destroyed, but the disorderly mob inside the city contributed far more to its destruction than did our guns, and the damage to life and property was terrible.

Troops were at once sent out under Sir Garnet (now Viscount) Wolseley, arriving on 21st August, and advanced from Ismailiyeh with General Graham. On the 24th, General Willis with a portion of the army repelled the enemy's first attack at Mahsameh; and their camp and a large quantity of

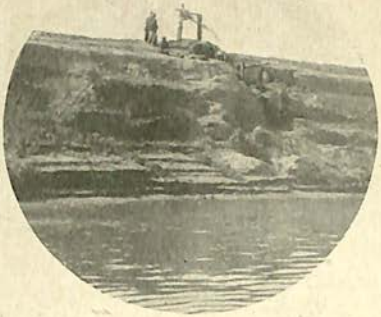
ammunition was seized. Our army suffered greatly from the heat and from want of sufficient provisions. Near Kassassin a splendid moonlight charge was made, and on the 9th September the Egyptians were again repulsed. On the night of the 12th September, under cover of the darkness, our army of 15,000 men moved silently for about 6 miles, barely escaping an outpost of the enemy. The first charge began at dawn by the Highlanders of General Hamley's division, and by 6 a.m. the battle of Tell-el-Kebir was won! The army at once advanced in pursuit, and Arabi was taken prisoner. On the 14th the rebel troops surrendered, and on the 15th General Sir Garnet Wolseley and H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, with a brigade of Guards, advanced to Cairo. The garrison in the Citadel, imagining their numbers to be much greater, laid down their arms. This bold entry after their trying march was another example of British pluck. Between their arrival at Port Said to the return of the victorious troops only 25 days elapsed.

The Khedive, who had been in Alexandria, returned to Cairo on the 26th, and a new Cabinet was formed under Sherif Pasha, Riaz being one of the Ministry. In December, Arabi and his staff were brought to trial and condemned to death, but through the advice of the British Government the sentence was commuted to banishment for life to Ceylon. During the visit of H.R.H. the Duke of York in 1901 to Ceylon, Arabi was released, and by permission of the Khedive Abbas II. was allowed to return to Egypt. Arabi expressed his great satisfaction at the good work England had performed in Egypt, stating that the useful reforms they had carried out by peaceful means were identical with those which he, in his misguided zeal, had endeavoured to achieve by force of arms.

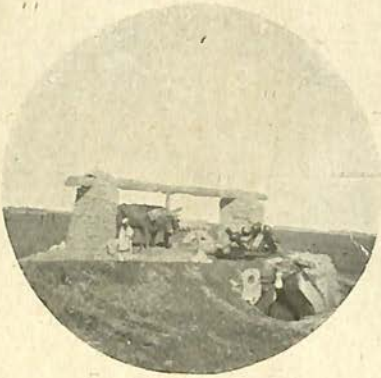
The Sudan War.

In the meantime affairs in the Sudan were approaching a crisis, the rise of Mahdism threatening the feeble hold of Egypt on that province. It will be necessary, in order to make the following account clear, to go back some years.

In 1873 Sir Samuel Baker had returned from the Sudan, and in 1874 Colonel Gordon had undertaken to carry on the task of establishing the Viceroy's authority there, and he annexed the provinces of Darfur and Harrar. He made several attempts to conciliate Zubeyr and his son Suleyman, the most powerful among the slave dealers. These chiefs, however, resisted all his efforts at pacification, and rebelled against the Government. A force under Gessi Pasha crushed



Shaduf on Nile bank



Sakkiyeh at work

Band of the 10th. Sudanese

Palace of Medinet Habu

Second cataract looking north

the rebellion in 1879, when Suleyman and 9 chiefs who were taken prisoners were shot at Gharra, the 15th July.

In 1877 the Khedive Ismail persuaded Gordon to go back with extended powers. He gave him absolute authority over all the tract from Wady Halfa to the Equator, and over the whole Red Sea littoral below Suakin. General Gordon writes as if he were almost afraid of the responsibility thrown upon him. In spite of all his efforts, he could not permanently suppress the slave trade, and again resigned in 1879.

For some years a Shia fanatic, called Mohammed Ahmed, had lived on Abba Island above Khartûm, and pretended to lead a holy life, drawing many to him. Raouf Pasha, who succeeded Gordon as Governor-General of the Sudan, had tried to arrest him, but failed, and in that year he had proclaimed himself the "Twelfth Imam," or "Mahdi," meaning "Guide" or "Director." He was born in 1848, and was the son of a boat-builder at Dongola, where this trade still flourishes. He had keen eyes, an attractive smile, and white teeth, and possessed much dignity of manner, with great strength of character. His power lay in preaching; gaining by his eloquence many devoted followers, who were named by him "Darwish," a Persian word signifying "holy men." He appointed under him four "Khalifas," one of whom eventually succeeded him.

The Mahdi visited the villages in the Sudan, stirring up the people against the Government, the tax-gatherers, and the foreigners, and by exciting their religious zeal and promising to lead them to Cairo and Mekka, he had in a short time a large number of supporters. The fame of the preacher spread through the Sudan, and Raouf Pasha sent a force to bring him to Khartûm. The attempt to capture him failed, as he fled to Kordofan, where he strengthened his position by gaining the adherence of many of the tribes, especially the "Baggaras," the great cattle dealers and slave owners.

The Sudan was in 1882 divided into three large territories: (1) Western Sudan — comprising Fasher, Dafur, Kordofan, Bahr-el-Ghazal, and Dongola; (2) Central Sudan—Khartûm, Senaar, Berber, Fashoda, and Equatoria; (3) Eastern Sudan—Massowah, Taka, Kassala, and Suakin; and the small province of Harrar.

The principal provincial governors in 1882 were: in Dafur, Slatin Bey (now Sir Rudolph Slatin, who is by birth an Austrian); in Bahr-el-Ghazal, Frank Lupton, an Englishman, a native of Ilford in Sussex, who succeeded Gessi Pasha; and in Equatoria, Edward Schnitzler, better known as Emin Pasha, a doctor and an enthusiastic botanist, born at Oppeln in Prussian

Silesia, 1840. He held the appointment from 1879. These had all been appointed by General Gordon.

The rebellion of the Mahdi gained strength rapidly, and a long series of misfortunes followed. Amongst the Europeans to suffer were Father Bonomi and Father Ohrwalder, who, with their devoted band of priests and nuns, were taken prisoners. Bonomi escaped in 1885, but Ohrwalder and two surviving nuns did not reach Cairo till 1891.

At the close of the year 1881, Colonel Hamil Stewart was ordered to Khartûm to report on the condition of affairs, and he sent repeated warnings of the dangerous condition of the country. His fears were not unfounded, as shortly afterwards the news came of the fall, after a 6 months' siege, of the important town of El Obeid into the hands of the rebels, 19th January 1883; Slatin Bey was also forced to surrender Bara and Dafur, and he was himself taken prisoner by the Mahdi. The horrors of his long captivity can only be understood by reading them in his own words.[1] An urgent appeal was made to the Egyptian Government for help, and a force of 10,000 men was raised early in 1883, for the most part irregular troops, who had fought under Arabi and had been defeated at Tell-el-Kebir. The command was given to Hicks Pasha, a man of ability and daring, having with him 9 British officers who had had but little experience in warfare. They went by the Red Sea, and landed at Suakin, and thence proceeded by Berber and the Nile to Khartûm. A review of the troops there showed their utter want of discipline, but in the first encounter with the rebels, led by Nijumi, the great Derwish leader, at Marabiyeh, 29th April, they were victorious. This victory induced Hicks Pasha to advance towards Kordofan, but it was impossible to leave enough men to guard the wells and form a chain of communication, owing to the overwhelming force of the enemy. The last despatch received from him, dated Serakna, 3rd October 1883, shows the perilous position in which he and his army were placed. The only other tidings ever heard of him came through the correspondent of the *Daily News*, and after this nothing was known from any European source of Hicks Pasha and his army of 12,000 men. The final battle against Wad-el-Nijumi took place at Kashgeil, near El Obeid.

Three hundred of the native soldiery escaped, amongst them Mohammed Barudi, cook to Hicks Pasha, who gives a graphic account of the terrible catastrophe, stating that the General was the last European to fall, fighting desperately to the end. Three officers had previously left the force, Major de Coetlogon being

[1] Slatin Pasha, *Fire and Sword in the Sudan.*

sent to Khartûm, Major Martin and Major Hon. J. Colborne invalided to Cairo. The latter has written the story of the expedition while he served with it.

At the same time, 600 miles distant, at Sinkat, near Suakin, a fight took place between Osman Digna and the Egyptian troops, who were nearly all killed.

A fresh expedition was now organised by Sir Evelyn Wood, under the command of Valentine Baker Pasha, consisting principally of his noted constabulary, "who, owing to his personal popularity, readily volunteered to accompany him."[1] Baker's force numbered about 4000 men and 9 English officers, with which he landed at Suakin. On Christmas Day 1883 he reviewed his troops, and then embarked them for Trinkatat, and from that port he marched to the relief of Tokar, which was full of Egyptians and besieged by Osman Digna, but meeting with heavy reverses at El-Teb, was obliged to return again by Trinkatat to Suakin with less than half his force and the loss of 11 European officers. The most formidable of the rebel tribes was the Hadendowa, or "Chief of the People"; the word "Ha," meaning "chief," occurs in hieroglyphs on ancient monuments.

Another disaster happened at Sinkat, when Tewfik Bey and his garrison were entirely destroyed on the 12th July 1884.

With the crushing defeat of both Hicks' and Baker Pasha's forces, the Mahdi's prestige rose rapidly throughout the country. Lupton in the Bahr-el-Ghazal, and Emin Pasha in the Equatorial Provinces, endeavoured to fortify their positions, and had several serious encounters with the rebels.

Khartûm had been surrounded by the enemy for many months, and early in 1884, in response to an urgent appeal from Egypt to England, General Gordon, the only man in whom the natives placed implicit faith, was sent to ascertain the real state of affairs and to devise the best means of evacuating the Sudan with honour. Five hours after he had received his instructions from the War Office he was *en route* for Egypt. He left Cairo with Colonel Stewart on 26th January 1884 (exactly one year before his tragic death), and went up the Nile to Khartûm, crossing the desert from Korosko. On his arrival on the 18th February he found Major de Coetlogon had provisioned the town for a year. Gordon was received with the greatest joy, and began at once to redress grievances and relieve misery, releasing many wretched prisoners who had been kept in chains for years. He gave Kordofan to the Mahdi, in the hope that this concession would deter him from further advance, and advised the nomination of Zubeyr Pasha

[1] Wingate, *Mahdiism and the Egyptian Sudan.*

as Governor-General of the Sudan. This proposal met with so fierce an opposition from the Anti-Slavery party in England that he was forced to yield. The sheykhs then determined to take possession of the town, and soon Khartûm became closely invested, and Gordon, finding himself powerless to resist them longer, resolved to fight.

Letters were exchanged between Gordon and the Mahdi, and the correspondence was despatched to Cairo, but was not received, as the faithful messenger was taken prisoner at Berber. He, however, managed to secrete the papers in a wall, and on his escape in 1890 he found the letters where he had hidden them, and delivered them to the governor at Suakin.

The townspeople at Khartûm had still implicit faith in Gordon and in his power to relieve them. He could not resist their appeal to remain with them, though in April he, Colonel Stewart, and Mr. Power were alone, with only mutinous troops to rely upon.

Just at this time Lupton in the Bahr-el-Ghazal was obliged to surrender to the chief Karamalla; he was taken prisoner, and worked in a powder factory and led a wretched existence in Omdurman, till he died in 1888. Emin Pasha still held out in Equatoria.

The reverses that Baker Pasha and others had met with in the Eastern Sudan decided the authorities in England to send out a relief force to aid Tokar, now sorely besieged; and an expedition of 4000 troops under General Graham, V.C., reached Suakin in February 1884. Graham defeated the rebels at El Teb, thereby avenging the terrible disaster to Baker Pasha's force at the same place only a month before, and Tokar was relieved, the garrison and inhabitants being happily still safe. On the 13th March the victory of Tamai followed. The battle was very fierce, and our loss was heavy, but that of the enemy was ten times as great.

In every direction the Mahdi's troops were active, but at Shendy, where they besieged the town, they were kept at bay by two ladies, the mother and daughter of El Morgani of Taka, for 3 months. The hostile Arabs surrounded Berber, May 1884, in overwhelming numbers, and Hoseyn Pasha the governor was unable to disperse them. The town was entered, and a terrible massacre took place, the governor being made prisoner. This victory gave great encouragement to the Mahdi and his troops, who became more confident than ever.

About the same time, Captain (now Viscount) Kitchener and Lieutenant Rundle were sent to Korosko to negotiate with the chiefs of the Ababdeh and Bishari tribes, and secure their

aid against the Mahdi. With their assistance, Kitchener made several expeditions into the desert, and established a chain of Arab outposts between the Nile and the Red Sea.

In England discussions took place as to the best route by which to relieve Khartûm; the one by Suakin and Berber was considered by some the most practicable, but eventually the Nile route was decided upon. A force under Lord Wolseley was sent in the beginning of August; 400 boats of a special build, like whale boats, strong, roomy, and light, were ordered for the conveyance of the troops. They were built and equipped in England with stores and provisions in an incredibly short time, and early in November the troops had passed the Second Cataract, 870 miles from Khartûm, a distance utterly impossible to accomplish by the date which Gordon gave as the limit to which he could hold out. The difficulties of the river were immense, but were bravely overcome by Colonel Butler and his men, aided by the contingent of Canadian canoe-men. All were anxious to save the gallant defenders of Khartûm, but by the 23rd December they had only reached Korti.

Here it was decided to divide the forces into two columns. One under command of Sir Herbert Stewart was to cross the desert by Abu Klea, secure the wells, and get into touch with the steamers Gordon had sent down the Nile; the other was to continue along the Nile under Major-General Earle towards Abu Hamed, and effect a junction with the desert column. Sir Herbert Stewart found the wells of Abu Klea occupied by the enemy, and was attacked on the 17th January 1885. A fierce battle ensued, which ended in the defeat of the Arab force, but with severe loss to the English. Two days later, further victories took place at Abu Kru, or Gubat, near Metemmeh, where Sir Herbert Stewart was mortally wounded. In these engagements the predictions of Sir Evelyn Wood and the officers who had been training the hitherto despised Egyptian troops were fulfilled by the steady conduct of the men under fire.[1]

The Mahdi had attacked Omdurman on the 12th November 1884, and the besieged signalled to Gordon for help. He was

[1] When the army was first formed (1882), there were 26 British officers and 6000 men. Its first review took place March 1883, when it already presented a very creditable appearance. The pay of the soldier is about 30 piastres a month. He serves 6 years in the army, 5 in the police, and 4 in the reserve. The marked improvement in the efficiency of the Egyptian troops is clearly shown by the following extracts:—

"General Baker telegraphs from El Teb, Feb. 5th, 1884: 'The Egyptian troops threw down their arms and ran, allowing themselves to be killed without resistance.'"

On Feb. 19th, 1891, Colonel Holled-Smith reports that "the troops, however, stood their ground, and did not yield one inch throughout the line."

unable to send any men, but loaded three steamers with provisions, which unfortunately never reached Omdurman; there was some sharp fighting, and the rebels sank one of the steamers. The town held out until forced to surrender on 5th January 1885. Gordon's own journals ceased after the 14th December 1884, but he seems to have known no fear, and to have gone about among the people trying to inspire them with the same confidence as he felt himself. One of the most interesting and authentic records of this time was written by Bordeini Bey, a merchant of Khartûm. It is a terrible story of suffering and famine; all grain and animal food having been exhausted, the people lived on gum and palm-fibre, and died by thousands in the streets, with no one to bury them, while hundreds deserted and joined the rebels.

The state of Khartûm had become hopeless; all means of communication were closed, and no news reached the town during the whole summer, but with the rising of the Nile Gordon despatched a steamer, the "Abbas," to Cairo with letters praying for succour. These were entrusted to Colonel Stewart, accompanied by M. Herbin, the French Consul, and Mr. Power, *Times* correspondent, with a bodyguard of Greeks, Gordon remaining absolutely alone in the beleaguered town. Opposite the village of Hebbeh the steamer "Abbas" sank, and Colonel Stewart and the rest, who had landed on the friendly invitation of the villagers, were decoyed into one of the houses and treacherously murdered, on the 18th of September.

For long, ignorant of the sad fate of his mission, Gordon looked out anxiously for the relief he daily expected and longed for; but it never came. One or two successful sorties were effected by Mohammed Ali, his "fighting Pasha," against the Arabs at Gereif and Halfyiah, but he was repulsed at Eilafum, after which Gordon describes the situation of the town as desperate.

At last, on Sunday morning the 26th January, the Arabs made a fierce attack and entered Khartûm. The palace was at once surrounded, and the Derwishes having killed the guards at the entrance, dashed through the garden and up the steps, at the head of which stood Gordon dressed in white uniform. The leading Derwish plunged his spear into him; he fell mortally wounded, was dragged down the steps, and hundreds of Arabs as they passed thrust their spears into his lifeless body. His head was sent to Omdurman, where it was exposed to public view. So closed one of the most touching episodes ever known in history. Gordon was kind, humble-minded, and charitable, and his simple Christian faith, his resolute discharge of duty, and dauntless courage in the hour of his greatest peril, offer an

example which all men would do well to follow, and of which England may be justly proud.

After a delay of three days at Gubat, Sir Charles Wilson with his force embarked for Khartûm, which he hoped to reach in 4 days; but owing to the enormous difficulty of navigation, the want of fuel—which was only obtainable by pulling down native houses—and the grounding of the steamers on sandbanks, they arrived just two days too late to save Gordon. Khartûm had fallen, and its brave defender was dead. Sir Charles Wilson, finding himself surrounded by enemies and exposed to constant fire, retraced his course down the Nile, on the 29th January dropping anchor 12 miles south of Gebel Rojan to attend to his wounded and endeavour to ascertain particulars of Gordon's fate. Owing to the rapidly falling Nile, one of his steamers, the "Bordein," struck on a rock and had to be abandoned. Lieutenant Stuart Wortley succeeded in reaching the British camp at Gubat in a row-boat, when Lord Charles Beresford proceeded in the "Safieh" to the rescue of Sir Charles Wilson's party. Whilst passing a Derwish fort, the "Safieh's" boilers were struck by a shell, and their repair was carried out with great gallantry under heavy fire. After considerable difficulty, Lord Charles Beresford and Sir Charles Wilson's forces joined those of the Desert column, which had been brought up under General Sir Redvers Buller, who took the command on the death of Sir Herbert Stewart.

The River column, after great difficulty, reached Kirbekan on the 10th of February, where a severe action was fought, in which Major-General Earle and others were killed. Earle was succeeded in the command by Brigadier-General Brackenbury, who immediately advanced to about 20 miles below Abu Hamed, when he received notice of the fall of Khartûm, with an order to return to Korti; and after this Wolseley ordered the distribution of the troops along the river from Merawi to Abu Fatmeh.

A second expedition to Suakin was organised under Sir Gerald Graham, 12th March 1885, including 4 regiments from India, a contingent from Australia, the first occasion on which Colonial troops had joined with British, and 3 battalions of the Guards, as well as the Naval Brigade and others. The first battle was fought at Hasheen, 20th March, against the Hadendowas, under Osman Digna. Their strong position on Dehilbat Hill was stormed and taken by the Berkshire Regiment and Marines. The second engagement was at Tofrik, on the 22nd March, where Sir John McNeil, while forming a zeriba, was surprised by the Derwishes, who were repulsed after desper-

ate fighting. The troops were kept in this terrible place for nearly a fortnight, after which the army marched to Tamai; but although there was constant fighting, Osman Digna refused to accept an open battle. The town of Tamai was burnt, and the troops, returned to Suakin, 3rd April 1885. The Suakin-Berber railway had meantime been partially constructed as far as Otao, and an armoured train carried provisions and men to defend the line, which was constantly attacked by the enemy. The heat was intense, and there was much fever and illness amongst the troops, owing to the terrible state of the camp at the zeriba. On the 30th March, Lord Wolseley left for Cairo, and on the 17th May the British troops began to leave Suakin. The rebels then destroyed the railway.

In June 1885 the British Government determined to evacuate the Sudan; the troops were withdrawn from Dongola. The boundary of Egypt was fixed at Wady Halfa, the headquarters of the Frontier Field Force under Major-General (afterwards Lord) Grenfell being at Aswân. The triumph of the Mahdi was of short duration: he died of typhus fever on 22nd June 1885.

AFFAIRS IN EGYPT—*continued.*

While this unsuccessful campaign was proceeding in the Sudan, the internal government of Egypt was also undergoing many changes. After the suppression of the Arabi rebellion in 1882, the situation at Cairo was one of considerable difficulty. The relation of England to Egypt was a peculiar one, and much tact was required to produce a good understanding among the many conflicting elements.

In November 1882, Lord Dufferin was sent to Cairo by the British Government to advise on Egyptian affairs, and his skill guided the two countries through intricacies on all sides. When he left in May 1883, it seemed as if a placid and prosperous future were in store for Egypt; but these hopes were not destined to be realised. Misfortunes soon began. An outbreak of cholera during the summer months proved the utter incompetency of the native officials to deal with such an emergency, though personal courage was not wanting, and of this the Khedive himself showed a bright example. The Dual Control had ended in January, and England was now left alone to grapple with the Egyptian problem. Mr. Clifford Lloyd was appointed in September 1883 "Director-General of Reforms," and the measures which he took to improve the Prisons and the Public Health Department were most efficacious at the time, and have continued to work well ever since.

In January 1884 a new Cabinet was formed by Nubar Pasha, who had succeeded Sherif as Prime Minister. He pledged himself to carry out, as far as lay in his power, the policy dictated by England. Amongst the reforms effected were the appointments of English officers as Heads of Departments. Sir Evelyn Baring was then Consul-General; Sir Benson Maxwell was appointed Chief Judge; Sir Evelyn Wood, Commander-in-Chief; Colonel Valentine Baker, Chief of Police; Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff, Head of Public Works; and Sir Auckland Colvin, Chief of Finance, succeeded shortly afterwards by Sir Edgar Vincent. Mr. Clifford Lloyd failed to conciliate Nubar Pasha on the subject of the Local Police, and he also disagreed with Sir Benson Maxwell on judicial affairs. Early in the year a Finance Committee was formed, consisting of Sir Edgar Vincent and others, under the presidency of Sir Auckland Colvin. This Committee proved very powerful, and did its utmost to curtail expenditure and save every shilling of revenue. In September 1884, Lord Northbrook came to Egypt as High Commissioner, to try and negotiate with the six great Powers concerning Egyptian finance. A Convention met in London on 18th March 1885, and it was determined to guarantee a loan of £9,000,000 to Egypt to tide her over her present difficulties. It was arranged that £1,000,000 should be spent on irrigation works, and the enormous increase in crops which resulted, especially in cotton, realised a very large percentage on the outlay within two years.

A very disagreeable incident concerning the suppression of the *Bosphore*, an abusive French newspaper, took place in April 1885, but was fortunately settled quietly before any serious rupture occurred between France and England.

Sir Evelyn Wood retired during this month, and Sir Francis Grenfell succeeded him as "Sirdar," or Commander-in-Chief. During this year, in August, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff was sent as special Envoy to the Sultan to consult on Egyptian affairs, and it was arranged that he and Mukhtar Pasha should be appointed "High Commissioners" on the part of the English and Turkish Governments. They were to consider and report on the necessary changes required in the administration, and to insist on the reorganisation of the Egyptian army. The all-absorbing question of the withdrawal of British troops was discussed, and Lord Salisbury summed up the situation when he wrote in 1885: "By far the most important clause of the Convention was that which stipulated that as soon as the two High Commissioners should be assured of the security of the frontiers, and the good working and stability of the Egyptian Government,

they should present reports to their respective Governments, who would give their consent as to the conclusion of a Convention regulating the withdrawal of the British troops from Egypt at a convenient period."

And in 1887: "England, if she spontaneously and willingly evacuates the country, must retain a Treaty right of intervention, if at any time either internal peace or external security should be seriously threatened."

The Sultan also reserved to himself the right of armed intervention under the same circumstances. The negotiations lasted for two years, when the Porte declared its willingness to recognise the right of England to interfere in Egyptian affairs, and a treaty to this effect was on the point of being signed, when France and Russia interfered, and so intimidated the Sultan that all the negotiations fell through, and the only permanent result was the presence of Mukhtar Pasha at Cairo. His position was most unenviable. His presence was resented; he had no authority in the Government, and was solicited by all parties alike to assist them in carrying out their schemes, and being an upright and honourable man, he found it no easy task to steer clear of intrigues.

Ever since its formation the Finance Committee had been doing good and steady work, and by strict economy Sir Edgar Vincent had been able to pay interest in full on the loan of £9,000,000. Such a proceeding caused great surprise throughout the country, and did much towards establishing confidence in the ability of England to fulfil her promises. Nubar Pasha had, however, never approved of the economic policy of the Finance Committee. He refused to believe that Egypt could right herself without becoming bankrupt, and could see no necessity for such rigid savings. His intense hatred of the system pursued by the Committee led to his personal dislike of Sir Evelyn Baring and Sir Edgar Vincent, and he tried his utmost to have them removed; but the English Government upheld its servants, and Nubar was defeated. The situation became impossible; the Khedive could not retain a Prime Minister who was so antagonistic to the Consul-General, and therefore dismissed him in June 1888. Nubar had no talent for finance, but he had done good work in supporting the Mixed Tribunals and reducing forced labour, thus preparing the way for the entire abolition of the Corvée—a system by which the Government was able to call out any number of the poor fellahîn and employ them on all sorts of public works without payment, and often at times when they should have been tilling their own land.

Riaz Pasha again became Prime Minister, and was in every way a contrast to his predecessor, in appearance, manner, and disposition. Nubar's ideas were on a large and generous scale, whereas Riaz considered every minute detail. Nubar had borne the burden and heat of the day; Riaz reaped the benefit of his long years of struggle and anxiety. Everything was in his favour. The army was becoming daily more efficient; the Debt had been reduced and the Revenue increased; and if Riaz had shown more tact and more sympathy, especially with foreigners, his career would have been more successful.

He soon began to find fault with the measures proposed by the Consul-General, especially those dealing with the native Courts of Justice, and strongly opposed the appointment of additional judges. The dispute grew so hot, that a very able Indian lawyer, Mr. (now Sir John) Scott, was called in to settle the question. In his report of 1890 he recommended several drastic changes which Riaz bitterly resented. He trusted that the Khedive would support him in his opposition, but found himself mistaken, as the Khedive sided with the Consul-General. This so embittered Riaz' life that he resigned in May 1891. Sir Alfred (now Lord) Milner was at this time Under-Secretary for Finance. The growing confidence of the Khedive in the measures adopted by England for the good of his country promised brightly for the future, and had his life been spared there is little doubt that much after-trouble would have been avoided. His unexpected death from influenza took place at Helwan on the 7th January 1892. "Consternation and sorrow were universal; never was a good and useful life cut off at a more inopportune moment."[1]

Tewfik was succeeded by his youthful son, Abbas II. To confirm him as Khedive a special written firman from the Sultan was necessary, and after much delay this document was read from the steps of the Abdîn Palace to the expectant multitude.

It was fortunate for the young Abbas that he had in his Prime Minister Mustapha Pasha, who had succeeded Riaz, a man thoroughly in sympathy with the English, both liking them personally and approving of the policy they were carrying out. The Finance Committee had successfully readjusted the taxation of the country. They had removed the tax on sheep and goats, and also on many trades and minor crafts; they had increased the tax on tobacco and house duty. Among these reforms the greatest boon of all was the abolition of the Corvée, the effect of which was now being felt among the fellahîn, who

[1] Milner, *England in Egypt*.

were able to earn wages and live in greater comfort and security. The result of their management was that at the end of 1891 the "Caisse" had a reserve fund of £E1,822,000, the Government had a reserve fund of £E665,000, and there was besides a third reserve fund of £E324,000. Therefore, instead of being utterly penniless, as in 1885, Egypt had now £3,000,000 in hand. This prodigious stride in the prosperity of the country was primarily due to the financial skill shown by Sir Edgar Vincent and Sir Alfred Milner. The work which they had successfully carried on for six years was continued by Sir Elwin Palmer. The country being now not only at peace, but in a state of prosperity which could hardly have been anticipated a few years previously, the Government was able again to turn its attention to affairs in the Sudan.

THE SUDAN WAR—*continued.*

On the Mahdi's death in 1885, he was succeeded by his Khalifa Abdullah, who belonged to the Taasha tribe, a subsection of the Baggaras. He was a most cruel tyrant, and his power was dreaded throughout the country, yet he had staunch adherents who obeyed him blindly. At the time of the Mahdi's death he was about 50 years old; his face was marked by smallpox; he had a large grey beard, and was slightly lame.

In 1885, after the practical evacuation of the Sudan, Osman Digna and his Hadendowas were still besieging Kassala and other frontier towns, and King John of Abyssinia had long been co-operating with Colonel (afterwards Sir Herbert) Chermside for their relief; but after much severe fighting, Osman Digna entered Kassala on the 30th July. Reverses also took place in the Equatorial Provinces, the greater portion of which Emin Bey was obliged to evacuate. He moved southwards to Duffilé, where he was found by one of Stanley's lieutenants in 1888, suffering great hardships and privations.[1]

In this year also fighting took place on the Red Sea. Her Majesty's ships destroyed some villages, and Halaib was taken; a police station was established there, and trade opened up.

The Khalifa now determined to invade Egypt, and the Frontier Force under the command of Sir Frederick Stephenson, composed of mixed British and Egyptian troops, was on the

[1] The well-known African explorer, Captain Casati, came into association with Emin Pasha in 1883. During the fighting which occurred when the Stanley Relief Expedition approached the Albert Nyanza in 1887, with the warriors of Mazamboni, the King Kabarega imprisoned Casati, who escaped, and was rescued in a starving condition by Emin. Casati died 6th March 1902.

THE MAHDIS TOMB OMDURMAN 1901

alert and watching for him. Captain Hunter first espied the Derwishes on the 29th November 1885, near Ambigol Wells. They attacked the posts along the line at Firket, where Captain (now Sir Archibald) Hunter was severely wounded, at Kosheh, and other places, but were each time routed, though no decisive engagement occurred until 30th December, at Ginnis, where the Frontier Force was entirely victorious and the Khalifa's loss considerable. This apparently so dispirited him that he remained fairly quiet until April 1887, when his Derwishes attacked Sarras, near Wady Halfa, and were repulsed by the Egyptian troops only, led by British officers under Colonel Chermside. The Camel Corps did good work, arriving from Halfa in a surprisingly short time; but the Derwishes destroyed the railway and re-occupied Sarras; their force was greatly increased.

On 17th January 1888, at Handub, near the Red Sea, Colonel Kitchener, who was wounded in the fight, led his troops against a Mahdist zeriba, but failed to take Osman Digna, who again escaped. Later in the year a battle was fought and won at Gemaizeh, near Suakin, where British and Egyptian forces were under the command of Sir Francis (now Lord) Grenfell.

During these two years constant fighting occurred near the frontier at Sarras and Wady Halfa, where the Sudanese distinguished themselves under Lieutenant Machell. Intermittent frontier fighting continued till 1889, when the Khalifa again determined to invade Egypt. He despatched the redoubtable Emir Nijumi with a large force, and in crossing the frontier they were met and severely beaten by Colonel Wodehouse at Argin; but, undaunted, Nijumi continued his advance, and on 3rd August was met by the force under Sir Francis Grenfell at Toski. The engagement was entirely decisive: the Derwish army was practically annihilated, Nijumi was killed, and thousands of prisoners were taken.

On the Red Sea frontier, the Egyptian troops, commanded by Colonel Holled-Smith, seized Osman Digna's camp at Afafit, in February 1891, and although he managed to escape, this victory secured the safety of the Suakin district. In April 1892, Colonel Kitchener succeeded Sir Francis Grenfell as Sirdar, and in the same year Emin Pasha, who had so bravely held his post as governor in the Equatorial Provinces, was murdered at Kenana.

In 1896, Osman Digna again gave trouble, but the Derwishes were repulsed from Colonel Lloyd's zeriba with severe loss, and a contingent of Indian troops was sent to Suakin. At the end of April 1896 the Egyptian and Sudanese troops moved

from Sarras to Akasheh, 50 miles farther south, having expelled the Derwishes from that place on the 1st of May 1896. During the next month the chief of the Jaalin tribe made his submission to Kitchener, and on hearing this the Khalifa sent a large force and utterly destroyed this tribe at Metemmeh, scarcely a man escaping. On the 7th of June our troops proceeded towards Dongola, and fought a severe battle at Firket. The Derwishes were utterly routed, and their leader Emin Hamuda was killed. The frontier was pushed forward to Kosheh, and Suarda was occupied by Colonel Burn Murdoch. No further move south was made till September, when they renewed the campaign. On the 19th the Derwishes were forced to evacuate El Hafîr by our gunboats and artillery, and on the 23rd, Dongola was bombarded and taken. The possession of this town was a most important one, ending as it did the Derwish occupation of this important and fertile province.

As soon as possible the Sudan military railway from Wady Halfa was commenced, and carried on with extraordinary rapidity. By the middle of July 1897 it had crossed the desert to within about 100 miles of Abu Hamed. Kitchener sent Major-General Hunter from Merawi to Abu Hamed with 2700 men, which place he stormed and took on the 7th of August. On the 5th of September Berber was occupied, and the railway reached Abu Hamed on the 4th of November. After this, Kitchener went to Massawa to arrange with the Italians for the return of Kassala, which was handed over to the Anglo-Egyptian Government, Colonel Parsons being left in charge. Shortly after Kitchener's return, the Derwishes advanced to Shendy, under Mahmud and Osman Digna. The Sirdar concentrated his army and all the British reinforcements which had come from Cairo, under General Gatacre, at Ras el-Hudi, on the Atbara. In the meantime the Egyptian gunboats took the Derwish depôt at Shendy, cutting off their supplies, the enemy being already short of provisions. Mahmud had formed a very strong zeriba at Nakheila, on the Atbara, and on the 8th of April 1898 the position was attacked in force. Our guns did much damage, the zeriba was entered, and after a fierce hand-to-hand fight, the Derwishes were completely beaten, and Mahmud taken prisoner, but Osman Digna escaped. The Egyptian troops behaved with great bravery under their British commanders. The Sirdar's forces returned to Berber and Fort Atbara, where they remained till the 14th of August, when a sudden move was made to Wad Hamed on the route towards Omdurman. On the 1st of September they reached the plain of Kerreri, some miles north from that town, and Zari-ba'ad. Our army

consisted of the British Division under General Gatacre: First Brigade General Wauchope, Second Brigade Hon. Neville Lyttelton. The Egyptian Division under General Hunter: Fourth Brigade Colonels Lewis, Maxwell, Collison, and Macdonald, who commanded the Sudanese regiments.

On the early morning of 2nd September the great battle of Omdurman was fought. The Khalifa commanded the Derwish army in person, he and his Emirs wearing helmets and coats of mail like those of the ancient Crusaders, and their horses covered with a padded quilt, formed of squares of red, black, and white cotton. His force was estimated at 40,000 men, with a front extended over three miles, while the force of the Sirdar was only 22,000.

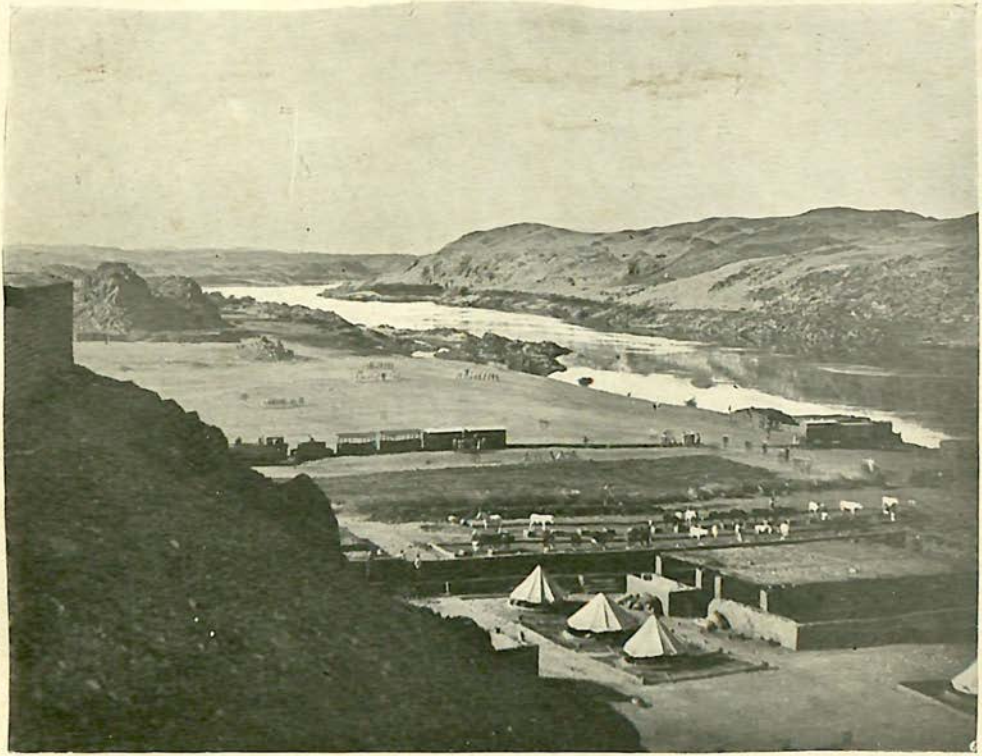
This battle will always be regarded as one of the most decisive of modern days. These fanatical Derwishes, with their utter recklessness of life and their wild courage and bravery, made them no mean foe to fight; but the attack of our troops baffled them, the splendid tactics of our generals and the power of our guns soon made them feel the helplessness of their efforts. Our losses were few considering the overwhelming majority of those of the enemy. The Sudan was subdued and Britain's honour regained.

The Khalifa escaped, but his brother Emir Ya'qub was killed. The town of Omdurman, as well as the tomb of the late Mahdi, was reduced to ruins, and the prisoners found there released, among whom was Charles Neufeld, who had been in captivity for 12 years. The well-known black Derwish flag was sent home to Queen Victoria. The following day the Egyptian and English flags were hoisted at Khartûm, and a solemn funeral service was held in memory of Gordon and other brave men who had fallen in the war. The Sirdar immediately afterwards proceeded to Fashoda, arriving with 5 gunboats on the 19th September, where a complicated question had arisen with the French officer, Colonel Marchand, who was occupying that place. Fortunately the matter was peaceably arranged, and the post was given up. One gunboat was stationed on the Sobat, and one on the Bahr el Ghazal. After the battle of Omdurman other engagements took place, and the Derwishes were gradually driven up the Blue Nile towards Abyssinia by Hunter, who took possession of all the principal towns. Colonel Parsons came from Kassala on the 22nd September, and after two engagements took Gadaref. Several battles followed, but the final blow to the power of the Khalifa was not given until 24th November 1899, when, owing to news of a fresh advance of the Khalifa towards Omdurman, General Sir Reginald Wingate was de-

spatched against the remaining Derwish forces, and completely defeated them at Omdobrikat. The Khalifa and his Emirs met their death as true Moslems. Finding that further resistance was hopeless, they seated themselves on their "furwas," or sheep-skin saddle-cloths, surrounded by the last of the bodyguard, and were there shot down by the rapidly advancing troops, who at the moment hardly realised the importance of their victory. When the Khalifa's body was found, Sir Reginald Wingate directed that it should be given to his surviving followers for burial on the spot where he fell. The Khalifa's son and all the surviving Emirs surrendered.

Thus ended this long and tedious war. Though the Derwish power was entirely crushed, it cost both England and Egypt many precious lives; but this campaign undertaken by Lord Kitchener was, considering the difficulties to be encountered, conducted in an unprecedentedly economical manner.

Osman Digna was not taken till 1900, when he was found wandering hopelessly in the mountains near Suakin.



A.M.A.

FROM THE FORT AT SARRAS LOOKING SOUTH

CHAPTER XII

THE MODERN PEOPLE

" There some grave Moslem to devotion stoops,
And some that smoke and some that play are found ;
Here the Albanian proudly treads the ground ;
Half-whispering there, the Greek is heard to prate.
Hark ! from the Mosque the mighty solemn sound,
The Muezzin's call doth shake the minaret,
'There is no God but God ! to prayer—lo, God is great ! '"

BYRON : *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage.*

BEFORE summing up the present condition of Egypt, it will be necessary to make a slight retrospective sketch of the manners and customs of the modern people. Many of these are, however, beginning to die out, owing to increased European influence, but within the last half-century they prevailed throughout the land, and are most curious and interesting.

The early conquests made by Egypt over Nubia, Syria, and the Desert Tribes, and the conquest of Egypt by the Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Turks, with the now added mixture of European nationalities, combine to make the modern Egyptian what he is to-day. It is scarcely likely that any single individual could show a purely Egyptian descent, so interwoven are the families with one or other of these tribes or nations; yet features of a pure type can still be traced back to those carefully depicted portraits upon the ancient monuments.

The native population may be divided into three classes—the Moslems, the Copts, and the Jews. Of these the first-named are by far the most numerous; the Copts come next, and the Jews form only a small numerical portion of the whole population. The complexion of the people varies: the natives of the large towns are not very dark; those of Middle Egypt are deep bronze or brown; while in Nubia the skin is darker still; the physique seems to be larger and stronger, and frequently shows intermixture with the negro. The ordinary Egyptian, either in town or country, averages 5 feet 8 inches. He is lithe and active, but does not possess great muscular strength.

The dress of men of the upper classes consists of full trousers of linen, a shirt with wide sleeves, and a "kaftan," or long vest reaching to the ankles, which is confined at the waist by a girdle or coloured shawl. The outer garment, or "abba," is usually a long cloak cut square, made of cloth or silk, with ample sleeves. The head is covered first with a linen skull-cap, and afterwards a "tarbûsh"—a red fez with a tassel—round which is wound a turban. This latter is a very important article, and by it Copts and Jews are distinguished from Moslems, who usually wear white, red, or, if descendants of the Prophet, green,[1] while the others wear black or blue. The turban is much valued, and in many houses a special chair is devoted to its use at night. Shoes are generally of red or yellow leather, but now elastic-sided boots are the fashion. A signet ring is always worn and used for signing all sorts of documents.

The women are often very beautiful in early life, but soon lose their good looks, retaining, however, their large and lustrous eyes, which peep out above the "burko," or face veil, in a very bewitching manner. The fashion of painting the eyes with kohl still goes on. It is prepared by burning the shells of almonds and using this smoke-black. The tiny pointed instrument employed for its application is first dipped in rose-water and then in the black powder, and drawn lightly along the edge of the eyelids. Ladies also stain the nails of both their hands and feet orange with henna (*Lawsonia inermis*). The henna is mixed into a paste and placed in the palm of the hand, the fingers are then closed tightly over it and bound in that position for a whole night. Occasionally the hand is decorated with a black or blue dye, in patterns on the back, or in stripes of black and red round it. Ladies wear wide trousers of silk or cotton, and a very wide shirt reaching to the knees; over this a long-sleeved vest called "yetek," with a scarf as a girdle, and over all a loose coat of cloth or silk, embroidered in gold and colours. The head-dress is usually a tarbûsh, or else a linen cap takiyeh, round which a handkerchief of fine muslin or other soft material is tightly wound. This is covered by two veils, one falling back, often beautifully embroidered, the other hanging loosely to enable it to be drawn over the lower part of the face. The ornaments worn are numerous and often of very beautiful workmanship—necklaces, bracelets, anklets, earrings—and the "kurs," or flat plate of gold or silver worn on the top of the head-dress; this is sometimes of great value. The hair, which is dressed in long plaits, is generally ornamented with jewellery and coins.

[1] By order of Shakhan, Sultan of Egypt, 1362–76.

The dress of the children is a miniature counterpart of that of their parents, often being of very rich material. It is much to be regretted that European dress for both men and women is now superseding these picturesque costumes.

There is much uniformity in the architecture of private houses, both in Cairo and in other larger towns of the country. The exteriors are usually plain. The doorways are mostly arched and decorated in gold and bright colours, and also have mottoes or texts inscribed upon them. The doors are fastened by a hollow bolt, opened by a piece of wood in which there are pegs corresponding to holes in the bolt, by which means the latch is raised. The beautifully carved woodwork latticed windows, called "mushre-beyeh" (from their being the place where the earthenware water bottles are cooled), project into the street like square shaped bow windows, and also form a comfortable seat inside, whence inmates can watch the passers by. Nearly every house has a paved courtyard, with a fountain in the centre. The principal reception rooms are on the ground floor; these are usually of great height, and dark, as the windows are placed high up, in order to keep the room cool. The walls are plastered, and the ceiling generally elaborately painted. Sometimes thin strips of wood form geometrical patterns, the spaces between being brightly coloured. The pavement is often of fine mosaic work, covered with a carpet or mats.

The upper apartments consist of several rooms, and have in the centre of the building a sort of lantern or cupola, with windows of lattice-work or of coloured glass. Sometimes the walls are covered with arabesques, sometimes with texts from the Koran or Arabic maxims. The rooms are warmed if necessary with a charcoal brazier. The mattresses used at night are rolled up and put aside in the daytime. Beds and bedrooms are quite a recent innovation. The rest of the furniture consists of low stools, small tables and shelves on which to place the coffee-set, and water bottles. Should a European visit a sheykh or merchant, a chair is carried about from room to room as a mark of great consideration.

The harîm is separated from the rest of the house, and entirely appropriated to the use of the women and children and their attendants. Soon after the birth of an infant, it is customary for the father to whisper the "adan," or Moslem "Call to Prayer," into the right ear of the child.

Children of the wealthy are brought up in the harîm and treated with great care and fondness, and taught to show much respect to parents and elders. They salute their father and

mother by kissing their hands and then waiting in a deferential attitude for any orders they may give. The first sentence taught to a child is, "There is no God but One God, and Mohammed is His Prophet." They only receive a very rudimentary education until they either go to school or are provided with tutors.

Girls are taught to use their needles, but until lately they seldom learned to read or write. Instruction in the Koran and in saying prayers, which should be recited five times daily, is given by a learned woman who comes to the harîm for that purpose. Women usually pray at home, as, although not absolutely forbidden to enter the mosques, the Prophet deemed it more advisable for them not to do so.

The custom of washing the hands, both before and after meals, is never neglected. Jugs and basins, and also embroidered towels, are always ready for this purpose.

Meals are served upon a round tray, and cakes of bread are placed beside it which often take the place of plates. The dishes are generally of stewed meat with vegetables, or rice with minced meat, kabobs, fish, cucumbers, gourds and lentils. The master begins to eat first, holding a piece of bread in his hand and dipping it into the dish, and taking up with it a small piece of the meat or vegetable. If a fowl is served, both hands must be used to separate the pieces; but some Arabs are so strict in observance that only the right hand may touch the food. In this case a fowl is disjointed by two persons, each using their right hand. Arab confectionery is very good and of great variety. Water is the usual beverage, but sherbets of raisins, limes, and other fruits are freely partaken of. Fermented drinks and the flesh of swine are strictly forbidden.

The ladies and servants of the harîm employ their time in embroidery, cooking, and waiting on their husbands, the care of the children, visiting their friends and shopping, goods being generally sent to their apartments for inspection. When going into the streets, they cover themselves entirely with a large garment of black silk or white cotton, which so impedes their movements in walking that all who can afford it prefer to ride on donkeys, or drive. If riding, two men are in attendance, one of whom leads the animal. Sometimes parties go out riding together, seated on very high rounded saddles, covered with carpets. In Cairo the shady avenue leading to the Pyramids is now the most fashionable drive. Fishing expeditions are sometimes arranged, as the ladies delight in angling along the banks of the Nile.

Servants are, as a rule, well treated and not overworked.

Many Nubians, Circassians, and Georgians are employed in Cairo in this capacity, although slavery is abolished. The harîm attendants and doorkeepers are mostly negroes.

Marriages are generally arranged by the older women of the families. A mother describes to her son the attractions of some girl whom she considers would be a suitable wife for him, and if he does not think this one desirable, another is sought for, and visits paid to different harîms by the women interested in the project. When the intending bridegroom is satisfied with the description given, his mother or some female relative goes again to make proposals for him, and does her best to give a favourable picture of the wooer and his means. If the girl is very young, her father or nearest male relative makes all the business arrangements, but if of age she may appoint her own agent, or even act herself. All being settled, the contract is confirmed by reading a chapter of the Koran; the dowry, which is a necessary part of the transaction, is paid, and the two agents of the bride and bridegroom, called "wekeels," sit on the floor grasping each other's hands, which are covered with a handkerchief. A betrothal ceremony is gone through, and a few days later the wedding festivities commence. The bride, enveloped in red shawls, proceeds in state to the bath, and this is the occasion of a very great ceremony, called "the Zeffet el-Hammâm." The streets through which she passes are decorated with flags. She walks under a canopy of silk, or is carried in a litter or drawn in a carriage, surrounded by her women friends and attended by a band of musicians. The procession is often swelled by men on foot or on horseback escorting boys in smart costumes to the mosque for the rite of circumcision to be performed.

Next comes the "Night of the Henna," when the bride places a large lump of henna in the palm of her hand and each guest sticks a gold coin into the lump; she then washes off the henna, and the coins drop into the basin. After this the bride goes to her husband's house in procession, accompanied by her near relations. Meanwhile the bridegroom has been entertaining his friends in another room, and pays a visit to the mosque attended by musicians and torch-bearers. His procession returns home, and the bridegroom now sees his wife's face for the first time. Many marriages are conducted without ceremonial; the mere formula, "I give myself to thee," repeated by both parties being sufficient to constitute a legal marriage. The wife is allowed to pay visits and go out when she pleases, so long as she is veiled. Men are only allowed to see their own wives, sisters or first cousins, and female slaves unveiled. A man

may divorce his wife and take her back again twice, but the third time she must have been married and divorced by some one else. Generally the Moslem has but one wife, owing to the expenses of a large household being very great; but if he wishes for, and can afford them, he is allowed to have four, the first being considered the "chief," but his mother usually takes precedence in his house.

The ceremonials observed when a death takes place are very singular, and are the same for men and women. The dying person is placed with his face towards Mekka, and the family continue to call upon the name of "Allah" till life has departed. Then shrieks and lamentations rend the air, and sentences are repeated, such as "Oh, my Master!" "Oh, my Misfortune!" "Alas! for him!" The grave-clothes are usually white or green, but must not be blue. The burial takes place within twelve hours, when a procession is formed to accompany the body to the cemetery; it is generally preceded by several poor men, usually blind, who recite the profession of faith; next follow the female mourners, wailing and lamenting, and the hired mourners, who shriek and extol the virtues of the deceased. The women of the household are distinguished by a strip of blue stuff tied round the head and hanging down behind it. The funeral of a wealthy man is more elaborate, and is preceded by boys chanting and reciting from the Koran, and is often also followed by members of different religious orders with banners and led horses. When the tomb is reached, the attendants lift the body from the bier on which it has been carried and lay it on its right side in the vault. If it is covered with a cashmere shawl or any article of value, this is torn to prevent its being carried off by thieves. A little earth is reverently cast upon the body, and the entrance to the tomb is then closed. In the case of a husband and wife being laid in the same tomb, a partition must be placed between them. An instructor, or "Fikîh," then seats himself outside and instructs the dead person how to answer the questions which will be put to him by the two angels Munkar and Nakir commissioned to inquire into his life and his belief, and who are supposed to visit him during the first night after his death, before the soul has left the body. There is no special garb of mourning for men; women generally let their hair remain unbraided and leave off their ornaments. The Thursday following the death the women again lament and Fikîhs repeat their ceremonies; on Friday they visit the tomb, placing palm branches and sweet herbs upon it, and distributing alms and bread to the poor. All Arab graveyards are arranged on one plan. Above persons of saintly reputation are

DATE PALMS

DÓM PALM

EVENING PRAYER

NATIVE BOATS SAILING SOUTHWARDS

built small domes, while the ordinary graves are but little raised from the ground. A stone or wooden pillar surmounted by a carved turban, at times merely roughly cut, at others beautifully executed, is placed at the head, always set facing Mekka.

Visits are very ceremonious, much attention being paid to the smallest details, such as removing the shoes and carefully hiding the hands on entering a room. The formal greeting of "Peace be unto you," and the reply "Unto you be peace," at the same time placing the hand upon the heart, is never omitted. Coffee is offered to the guests, and served in small cups placed in outer cups called "fingan," either made of porcelain or silver or gold filigree, often studded with precious stones.

The long pipes called "shebuk" are less smoked now, but the "nargilas," a pipe connected by an indiarubber tube to a bottle containing rose-water, is still much the fashion. These pipes generally have mouth-pieces made of amber, ornamented with jewels, but the modern cigarette has nearly superseded their use.

Cards, chess, draughts, and other games are much liked, and "markala," which is played with cowrie shells, is peculiar to Egypt.

Of musical instruments there are several sorts; one a kind of slender violin, the neck often of ebony and the body a cocoa-nut, with strings of horsehair. The bow is 34 inches long and usually made of ash. There is also a curiously shaped harp (kanûn) and a guitar similar in form to those we use; both these instruments are played with a plectrum. The "nay," a sort of flute, is a reed pierced with six holes. Tambourines, mandolines, drums, tum-tums, hautboys and cymbals, castanets, and a rude kind of bagpipe made of goatskin, are also used. Egyptian music is monotonous, and the intervals are inharmonious to a Western ear, though they have a strange attraction. The songs are generally love ditties or chantings from the Koran sung in a high quavering voice.

Egyptians are very superstitious. Charms are universally used; generally they are texts from the Koran written on bits of paper placed in small leather pouches or silver cases, and hung on the neck or arm of the person. They are for the most part for protection against the "evil eye" and all sorts of misfortune; there are others to ensure good fortune. An aloe plant hung over the door of a house brings good luck; there are lucky and unlucky days of the week, Friday being the most blessed of all, and Saturday the most unfortunate. On no account must a journey be undertaken, or hair or nails cut on

that day. Some persons regard the day as lucky or otherwise according to the first object they see in the morning; a one-eyed person bodes ill-luck.

Astrology is much practised in the casting of nativities and deciding fortunate dates. Magicians are often consulted on delicate and intricate matters; they are supposed to aid in love affairs as well as in tracing crime. There are two kinds of magic, the spiritual and the natural. By the former, which is supposed to come from God, good deeds are achieved. The other is used by wicked enchanters, and is supposed to proceed from the Devil. Belief in genii, both good and evil, is very general. Scarcely any act can be undertaken, such as lighting a fire or drawing water, without an invocation to the "gin" who may happen to inhabit that particular spot. Djins were created, as the people believe, before mankind; they often assume the form of some animal, and are sometimes wantonly malicious, throwing down bricks upon passers-by, extinguishing lights, and doing other naughty tricks. During the holy month of Ramadan they are supposed to be locked up, and salt is often placed on the threshold to prevent their re-entering the houses. Each quarter of Cairo is supposed to have its special Djin. "Efreets," or ghosts, are also believed in and much feared. Idiots or harmless lunatics are looked on as saintly persons, "whose mind is already in Heaven," and many go about clad in rags with long matted hair, dirty and unwashed, yet looked upon with veneration and respect. Those saints who are specially devout are called "wêlly," the chief of whom is called the "Kutb-el-Mutawêlly"; he is invisible to men, but is supposed to sit on the roof of the Kaaba at Mekka crying out at midnight, "O Thou most merciful of those who show mercy!" This call is repeated from every mosque throughout all Mohammedan countries. The "Kutb" has other favourite stations, and likewise wanders where he pleases, and has messengers who do his bidding and control the affairs of men for good or evil. Saints are much honoured; visits are made to their tombs and votive offerings presented, misfortune being said to follow those who neglect these duties.

The principal building in every town and village is the mosque, which lends a characteristic picturesqueness to the scene. The word "mosque" is derived through the Spanish "mesquita," (Italian "meschita"), and the Arabic "mesgid," a place of worship. The outside is generally plain, decoration being reserved for the interior; they differ in size and form, but most of them are rectangular and of great height; the walls are sometimes painted in red and white stripes, and the roofs, in the centre of which is

a dome, are flat. Every mosque has its minaret, and these are often very graceful and beautiful, with one or more balconies round them, reached by a winding staircase. The Muezzin, or "Call to Prayer," is sung from these balconies by the Mueddin five times daily, the call at sunset being especially impressive.

The mosque consists of a court, usually surrounded by columns, in the centre of which there is a fountain. Prayers are held in the Liwan, or part of the building that faces Mekka; this is more highly decorated than the rest. The service is very reverently conducted, and the greatest attention is paid to the reader, who recites and reads passages from the Koran. The Rosary, or prayer bead (*bede* meaning prayer), is divided into 3 equal parts, and each bead represents one of the 90 names of Allah; the 100th bead, a large one, is called the "Imam." These "pearls of faith"[1] are of ancient date, and have been traced to the Khaliph Al-Hadi, 786 A.D., and were in general use in the tenth century A.D.[2]

On Fridays the service is more elaborate, and a sermon is added, the preacher holding a wooden sword in his hand while he exhorts the people. This custom is carried on to remind the faithful of the conquests won by Mohammed. After this prayers are said, and the rich give alms to the poor.

The fanatical sects of Derwishes are very much respected, and are supposed to work miracles. There are four principal orders, each distinguished by its turban. The "Rifaiya" wear dark turbans, and go through many extraordinary feats of strength. Some afflict themselves apparently by horrible physical tortures. The "Saadiya," a powerful division, are principally snake-charmers; it was a sheykh of this sect who used to ride the Doseh.[3] The "Kadiriya" wear white, and are known as the "Howling Derwishes," who utter the most unearthly shrieks and cries in the performance of their religious ceremonies. The "Baramiya" wear green. Branches of these, called the "Molawiyas," are celebrated for their marvellous whirling and dancing performances, consisting of a series of contortions during which the performers grunt out the name of Allah and utter sentences from the Koran. They generally wear high sugarloaf shaped caps. The "Ahmediya" wear red turbans; they are divided into many sects. There are numerous other divisions among the Derwishes. They are admitted to the order by their sheykh, and recite a formula of belief together with prayers on their entrance. Some are tradesmen and agriculturists, who only assist in the festivals

[1] Sir Edwin Arnold, *Light of Asia.*

[2] Cyril Davenport, *Journal Soc. Art*, vol. i.

[3] See page 348.

of their order; many travel through the country, each going through their respective rites, while others again retire to a cell and remain there for several days, alone and without food. They are often asked to charm away snakes from houses, to chant at funerals, and perform other offices. They receive a religious education in colleges which have been in existence in Cairo since the days of Saladin, 1176 A.D.

The "Moharram,"[1] or Festival of the New Year, is celebrated in Egypt, as in all other Moslem countries, with much rejoicing. The return of the pilgrims' caravan from Mekka is also an occasion for a great festal display. It takes place towards the end of Safar, the second month. Most of the pilgrims bring home a relic or remembrance to their friends, such as a little water from the sacred well "Zemzem," or dust from the Prophet's Tomb made into small cakes. The morning after the chief body of pilgrims has arrived outside Cairo, the procession of the Mahmal takes place. The beautiful Sheger-ed-Durr,[2] mother of the last of the Ayyub Dynasty, made the pilgrimage herself to Mekka, and in memory of this act a "Mahmal," or camel litter, such as was used by her, has been sent to Mekka every year. It contains two copies of the Koran, and is very elaborately decorated, and treated with the greatest respect. Soldiers precede it, and then follow a long line of camels with ornamented saddles decorated with flags and bells. The "Mahmal" passes through all the principal streets, which are crowded with spectators and lined with troops, and it is strange to see British officers saluting this object of Moslem veneration. It finally reaches the Citadel, where it is deposited.

Each year in the month of Shauwâl, which follows Ramadan, a new carpet, or covering, for the tomb of the Prophet Mohammed, called the "Kisweh," is taken to Mekka by the caravan. It is made of brocade beautifully embroidered with Koran texts. The old one is cut up in small pieces and distributed to the faithful.

The birthday of the Prophet, "Molid-el-Neby," is also a time of rejoicing. The festival lasts 9 nights, and on the 8th the Chief Dervish, Sheykh-el-Bekriy, proceeds to the mosque on horseback to recite the appointed prayers. Formerly it was the custom of the faithful who preceded him to throw themselves face downwards on the ground, lying close together,

[1] The following are the Mohammedan lunar months:—

1. Moharrem.	5. Gemâd el-auwel.	9. Ramadân.
2. Safar.	6. Gemâd el-akhir.	10. Shauwâl.
3. Rabi el-auwel.	7. Regeb.	11. Dhil-ki'deh.
4. Rabi el-akhir.	8. Sha'ban.	12. Dhil-higgeh.

[2] See page 277.

allowing the Sheykh to ride over their bodies, then jumping up when he had passed and joining in the procession. This was called the "Doseh." It is strange that accidents seldom occurred.

Many other feasts in honour of saints, such as that of the "Molid-el-Hoseyn," and "Seyyieb Zenub," granddaughter of the Prophet, are kept, but the main features of each are the same. The town becomes the scene of many festive diversions; the streets are festooned with coloured lamps and glass chandeliers, and filled with booths where sweets and fancy wares are sold. Portions of the Koran are recited; zikr dances and processions take place. The annual festival of "Shem en Nezim," or "Smelling the Air," is a popular spring holiday, and other similar season festivals are held.

The bazaars, or streets of shops, are still left in their old places, each trade having its own quarter, such as the "shoemakers' bazaar," the "saddlers'," the "brass-workers'," the "provision dealers'," the "silk" and the "carpet bazaar," which in Cairo is the most important. Each shop is a recess, in which the goods are stored on shelves; the shopman sits cross-legged on a projecting platform, generally smoking, and the purchaser takes a seat beside him while bargaining for goods. This is a work of time and patience, and usually ends by the merchant accepting a much less sum than that originally asked. The noise in the streets is deafening; donkey-boys and syces, or out-runners, scream to foot-passengers to get out of the way; water-carriers, with huge skins filled with water, shout their cry, "Sweet water to drink, thanks be to God"; sellers of sherbet offer cooling drinks from large brass vessels slung on their backs and hung round with little brass cups, which tinkle as they move. Fruit and vegetable sellers sing praises of their lemons, oranges, and dates in a rather melodious song, and vendors of sugar-cane are seen at the corner of the streets, sheltered by the overhanging foliage of the plant under which they sit as in a bower. Street kitchens are common, to which people bring their food to be cooked, and often eat it sitting cross-legged in the street. This custom was mentioned by a German traveller (Munster) in 1552.

Another picturesque group is formed by the scribes, who sit with their inkhorns stuck in their belts writing letters from dictation with a reed pen from right to left, or deciphering documents for those who cannot read. Dancing girls used to perform publicly in troupes, but these are now prohibited. Conjurors, jugglers, and snake-charmers abound, and their tricks resemble those done in other Eastern countries. Exhibitions of performing animals and short dramas acted in the

street are often seen. Punch and Judy shows, called "Kara Kush," after a Wezîr of that name who lived in the time of Saladin and sang satirical songs, still delight both young and old. Fortune-tellers, public reciters, and story-tellers, like those in the *Arabian Nights*, draw large audiences at the coffee-shops to listen to the tales of Antar and Beybars, their favourite heroes.

We get a glimpse of country life in the busy native markets of the towns, as the peasants push their way through the narrow streets with their long rows of camels. These ungainly animals are laden with huge piles of sugar-cane, sacks of green fodder, and other merchandise. Donkeys buried beneath similar burdens, with the additional weight of their unfeeling masters, also help to make the passage of the streets difficult and dangerous.

Close to the outskirts of the towns the native population is seen dwelling in the most primitive manner, and it is curious to notice the sudden change from the noisy and gay streets to the stillness of the country, where the goats, chickens, and donkeys quietly feed, and the children at play form lovely groups round the huts of the fellahîn. These houses are built of mud bricks, roofed with palm matting and straw. A hole serves as a window, and the doorway is so small that it is difficult to enter; this is secured by a curious wooden key with pegs.[1]

The dress of the men consists of full white cotton drawers and one long blue cotton garment open at the neck, called "galabiyeh," and a close-fitting brown or white cap. Their mode of life and customs differ but little from those which prevailed in ancient days. We find them using the same implements for tilling the land as are depicted on the monuments. For ploughing the fields oxen or buffaloes are mostly used, but often a camel and donkey are seen yoked together. The land is most carefully cultivated, and not an inch of ground wasted. The fields, divided into small squares, are separated by ridges and furrows, which are filled with water from the shadoof, or sakiyeh,[2] and when needed for watering the land the fellah breaks the ridge with his foot and the water overflows. Flocks and herds are tended mostly by boys carrying long staffs, and dressed in brown cloaks made of camel's hair. The animals follow the shepherd to the feeding-place, where they are tethered, and allowed to eat only the small circle of green food within their reach.

Corn is as formerly cut with a sickle or plucked up by the roots; the ground usually yields three harvests. Threshing the corn is done principally with flails, but oxen are also used

[1] See page 34. [2] See page 42, "Ancient People."

Portrait of a Nile Boatman

for the purpose. The grain is thrown on to a threshing-floor, and the chaff sifted by shaking it in the wind. The corn is freshly ground for bread as it is required, in a hand-mill between two stones, and two women are often seen grinding at the mill.

The food and living of the peasants is very simple. They eat maize, "dhurra," vegetables, dates, dried fish, eggs, cheese, melons and cucumbers, and drink either milk or water. Bread is often eaten with "dukkah," a savoury compound of peas, salt, pepper and herbs, and serves as a substitute for meat, which is rarely tasted.

A kind of drink, extracted by the peasants from barley or wheat, is called "boozeh." It is strong, but less intoxicating than the "araki" which they make from the fermented juice of the date. Their great luxury is tobacco, which it is now illegal to grow in the country. The fellahîn women wear a garment open at the neck, made of blue, black, or checked cotton; much of this material is made at Akhmîm; and also a face veil of black transparent material attached to the head-covering by a small brass cylindrical ornament. They are fond of wearing jewels of brass, silver, and glass beads and coins, and decorate their faces and hands with indelible marks in fashionable patterns. This is done by pricking the skin with a needle and rubbing in blue, black, or red dyes. Women are employed in spinning, and making fuel, cooking, and looking after the children, also in bringing water from the river, and they look most picturesque balancing the heavy jars on their heads, frequently carrying their babies at the same time. The little bronzed peasant children are very attractive. They either wear a loose cotton garment, or at times go without clothes at all. The boys' heads are shaved with the exception of the usual tuft of hair left on the crown.

There are many other customs of almost daily observance which it is impossible here to enumerate in detail, but perhaps the few which have been noted may give some slight idea of the life of the modern Egyptian.

CHAPTER XIII

EGYPT OF TO-DAY

"The mighty hand of science forms the plan,
And wields the hammer with its iron will;
Yet Pharaohs smile at works of modern man,
And live in stone to teach him greater skill."—S. A.

SINCE 1890 there has been a steady growth in the prosperity of the country. The revenue that year was £E10,237,000, and in 1901–2 it had risen to £E11,944,000. While the expenditure was increased by £E334,000, the revenue also increased by £E1,707,000, the surplus on the accounts being in round numbers £E700,000.[1]

Education made but slow progress till about 80 years ago, when an impetus was given to it by Mohammed Ali, who established schools and colleges for instruction based on the French system. Before that the ancient College of el-Azhar was the only one where the higher branches of education could be pursued, but village schools were numerous, in which reading, writing, and recitation of the Koran were almost the only subjects taught. El-Azhar itself did not greatly extend its teaching till 1897, when application was made by the Heads of the College for an increased staff of masters, so that geography, mathematics, and other branches of learning might be added. The School for Girls established by Miss Whateley in 1861 was one of the earliest, and there are besides several Mission schools, French, Italian, and Greek, as well as American. Since 1885 those established by Government have been materially improved, and owe much to Artin Pasha and Mr. Douglas Dunlop, the first Englishman who was appointed to the Public Instruction Department. In 1894 there were 12 Government Schools, also Colleges of Law, Medicine, Engineering, and Agriculture, as well as Training Colleges for teachers. Since 1898 the Government has given encouragement to the small native

[1] The revenue in 1903 shows a steady increase.

schools, or Kutubs, by offering grants for proficiency, and a large number have received this assistance, mainly through the influence of Riaz Pasha, in whose judgment, as being of their own religion, the people had confidence. In 1901 there were 10,000 of these village schools, attended by 200,000 children. The Technical School at Bulak has increased greatly, and pupils have no difficulty in obtaining situations.

The army is in a most efficient condition, under the careful management and discipline of Sir Reginald Wingate, the present Sirdar, and his officers. The recruiting system has been reorganised, the term of service in both army and police has been shortened from 15 to 10 years, and since the close of the war the whole army has been reduced by 5000 men.

The improvement in the prisons begun by Mr. Clifford Lloyd in 1883 has already been alluded to. At that time their condition was too horrible to be described. He did what he could with the old buildings, but it was not till 1897 that a grant was made out of the reserve fund for the erection of new ones, and in 1901 further buildings were finished and reformatories increased. Under the guidance of Coles Pasha, the present Head of the Prison Department, the inmates are taught useful trades and handicrafts, and are allowed to earn remission of sentence by good conduct, a plan which appears to have worked well.

The Chief of the Sanitary Department has had no easy task, and under Rogers Pasha, and now under Pinching Pasha, the health of the country has wonderfully improved. The fountain basins in the mosques were found to be one great cause of danger, as every one used the same dirty water. To interfere with this doubtful purification commanded by the Prophet was a very delicate matter, but tact and common sense have triumphed, and there are now reservoirs and taps in the courtyards of the mosques. A great deal has been done in drainage works in the towns, and old burial-grounds have been closed. Through these and other sanitary precautions the spread of infectious diseases has been successfully combated with, and smallpox nearly stamped out through vaccination.

The hospitals are very good, and possess an excellent staff of doctors and nurses. During 1901, 28,447 in-patients were treated. The high state of efficiency of the Kasr-el-Ainy in Cairo is due to the energy and skill of Dr. Milton. The Military Hospital at the Citadel is well situated and cared for. Several new hospitals have been lately constructed throughout

Egypt and the Sudan, and at Mekka one has been erected for the pilgrims.

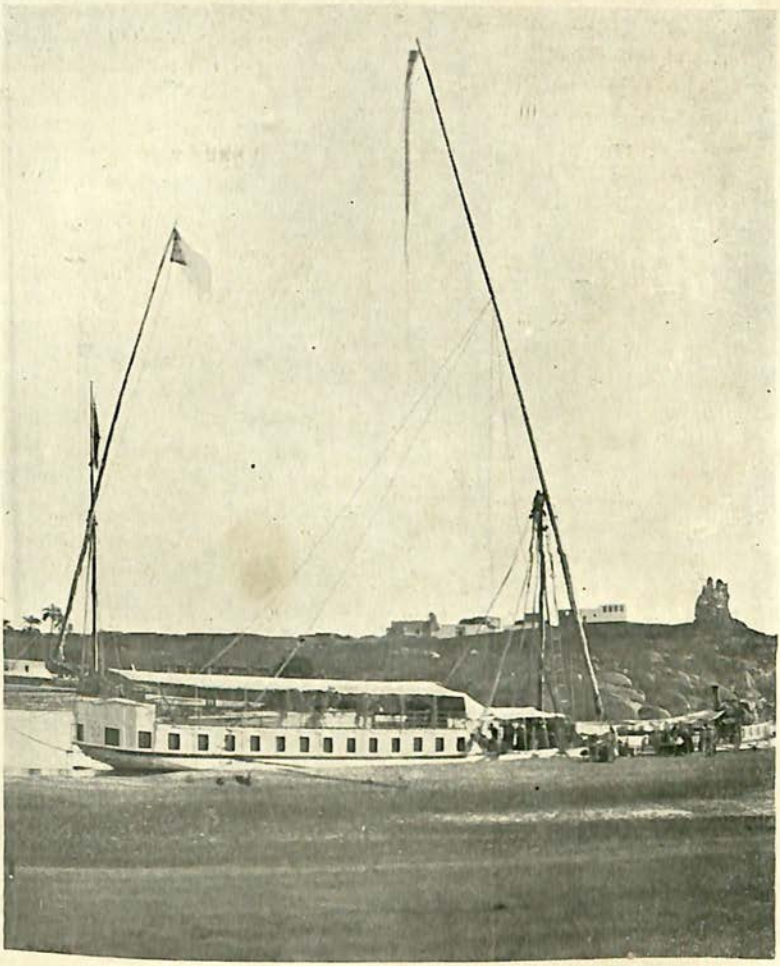
The new Baths at Helwan are eagerly sought by people of all nations. Dispensaries have been formed, and a fine experimental laboratory is doing active work, and a Chair of medical professorship and scholarships open to students are established.

One great difficulty which the Government has to contend with is the smuggling of "hashish," or hemp prepared for smoking. Steamers bring this contraband article principally to the west of Alexandria, where it is taken on shore by native boats. The confiscation of this pernicious drug has greatly checked its importation, and fewer cases of madness arising from its use have been treated in the asylums.

Travelling in Egypt has been greatly facilitated by Thomas Cook, who first fitted up luxurious dahabiyehs for travellers, and was the first to put tourist steamers on the Nile. In 1875 he assisted Government to convey the troops to the Sudan, and afterwards passengers were allowed to travel by these steamers. Since then a large number of splendid steamboats are constantly conveying tourists on the Nile.

Railways have perhaps done more towards the prosperity of the country and the extension of its industries than any other modern enterprise. The first railway ever made in Egypt was from Alexandria to Cairo in 1855, a distance of 130 miles. It was afterwards extended to Suez during the time of Said Pasha. It conveyed passengers and mails to India, and was known as the "Overland Route"; it was used until the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Since that date railway communication has increased until it has gradually changed the aspect of the whole country from Cairo to Khartûm.[1] The traffic on this line has been enormous in consequence of the works at the Aswân Dam, the increase of profits in 1900 being £E150,000, notwithstanding the great outlay necessary. Shelal is at present the terminus, as from thence to Wady Halfa there is as yet no railway. A line from Wady Halfa towards Dongola was begun in 1896 for the conveyance of our troops, under the direction of Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Percy) Girouard, and extended as far as Kerma. Another line was made across the Nubian Desert to Abu Hamed in 1897. The great difficulty in obtaining water to make this route practicable was overcome by Lord Kitchener, through whose indomitable perseverance a series of deep wells was dug at intervals through this waterless waste. A short distance south-east of Berber, a fine bridge made in America spans the Atbara River. The railway then

[1] See page 13.



A.M.A.

DAHABIYEH AT ELEPHANTINE

approaches the Nile and continues along its course to Halfyiah, the terminus for Khartûm. All the arrangements for this long journey are most luxurious, even to baths being provided at Abu Hamed for dusty and travel-worn passengers. The report of the present Egyptian Railway Board by Major Johnstone, its President, is most encouraging. The workshops throughout the country are now capable of producing everything necessary for the maintenance of the lines.

During the last four years different Companies have undertaken the formation of light railways, and these are already doing a great work in opening up remote districts and bringing their produce to the markets. A Belgian Company has finished a railway from Mansura to Matariyeh, and lines have been laid by the Egyptian Delta Light Railways Co. in the provinces of Behera and Gharbia. A purely native Company has acquired the right of making railways in the Fayûm, under English engineers.

It is almost impossible to realise the gigantic strides in the postal service of Egypt during the nineteenth century. Seventy years ago the Indian mail was carried in a box, which was locked by the Consul in Alexandria, and sent to Suez on a camel. Somewhat later they were taken by the Mahmudiyeh canal, and across the desert in cars on a rough track engineered by Lieut. Waghorn. Coals for the mail steamers and merchandise were conveyed by caravans, often numbering 3000 camels. Now the light mail taken on board at Brindisi frequently amounts to 4000 bags.

Post Office Savings Banks have been established since 1891, and have given most satisfactory returns. In 1901 there were 6746 depositors.

Telegrams sent in Arabic in 1901 numbered 753,000, and new lines are being laid. Plantations of trees for posts are growing well.

The condition of the fellahîn has been very greatly improved of late years, one great boon being that the payment of taxes is not required till the crops are gathered in. Steam-ploughs and threshing-machines are taking the place of the hoe and flail, and other modern agricultural appliances are gradually being introduced into the country. A scheme for the issue of small loans to the fellahîn of sums under £10 has been adopted. The National Bank of Egypt being willing to assist in this undertaking, Lord Cromer agreed that the Bank should receive the support of Government, and it was likewise arranged that the tax-gatherers, when on their rounds, should collect the interest due. This system has checked the exorbitant demands of the

money-lenders, and in all respects has proved to be most useful; as since 1899, when first established, till 1901, 34,000 fellahîn have borrowed money.

A geological survey is in progress, and also a museum for specimens. A geographical survey of the country on a large scale is likewise being undertaken, and maps made.

The "Wakfs," or endowments provided by various Sultans and religious bodies for the maintenance of colleges and the preservation of mosques, were confiscated by Mohammed Ali in 1810. In consequence, no funds were available for the purpose, and no efforts were made towards restoration for many years. Since the report of Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole in 1883, the "Wakfs" have been reorganised. The colleges have received help, and the work of restoration has begun. Many beautiful mosques and mediæval buildings have been saved from ruin and decay. Part of the mosque of el-Hakim, built by the Khaliph of that name in 990 to 1013, has been appropriated for Arab art treasures. Franz Pasha and Artin Pasha have been most successful in this undertaking, and, with the able assistance of Herz Bey, this magnificent collection has been arranged and historically catalogued. The present "Wakf" administration under Harari Pasha makes yearly progress. It is to be hoped that the prejudice of the Coptic community against the restoration of their own buildings will shortly be overcome, as so much of their beautiful architecture is well worthy of preservation. It is not only mediæval architecture, but Arab literature also, that is being guarded from destruction. The collection of books begun in 1870 by Ismail Pasha has been largely added to. The library originally arranged by Dr. Stern and Spitta Bey contains many rare MSS., some of which are beautifully illuminated. Among the wonderful collection of Korans, one is stated to date back to the tenth century (or the third century of the Hejra). Both the library and Arab art treasures will shortly be placed in the handsome building now in course of construction.

The Antiquities Department has been successfully reorganised by M. Maspero; the work of excavation throughout Egypt has been greatly facilitated by him. The increase in skill and science shown by excavators during the last few years has been remarkable, and the benefit which future historians will derive from this accurate and careful method in digging cannot be over-estimated. The tombs and monuments thus brought to light are guarded against pillage and defacement. Mr. Howard Carter and Mr. Quibell have been appointed as inspectors to superintend this work.

The nucleus of the present Museum of Antiquities was

originally begun at Bulak in 1858, by Mariette Bey under Said Pasha. Mariette devoted his life to Egyptian research, and was buried in 1881 in the garden of the Bulak Museum. The antiquities were removed in 1889 and placed in a huge disused palace, built at Gizeh by Ismail Pasha. Now a fine new museum has just been built at Cairo for their reception. This marvellous collection has increased so enormously of late years, that it well deserved a more fitting resting-place. It has been classified with the greatest care, and contains, in an almost unbroken sequence, examples of the wonders of ancient Egypt from the earliest prehistoric times. Here every one will be able to enjoy these marvellous treasures which have been brought to light, and even gaze with reverence upon the faces of the mighty Pharaohs. The new Catalogue, which is being compiled by many eminent Egyptologists, under M. Maspero's supervision, will be a monumental work.

Throughout the whole history of Egypt irrigation has been the most important and necessary of public works. The ancient irrigation system has been largely extended and improved, and drainage separated from irrigation canals. The Barrage begun by Mohammed Ali in 1835, designed by Mougel Bey, was not completed till 1862, when it was found to be so imperfect that it had to be reconstructed in 1884 by Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff and Sir William Garstin. It cost a fabulous sum to build, and requires an enormous yearly outlay to keep it in repair. The natives show their appreciation of the benefit they derive from it by calling it "The Bridge of Blessings." A new weir over the Rosetta branch was opened in 1901, engineered by Major Brown.

The value of the new works has been well tested, as during an exceptionally low Nile a larger acreage was inundated, and thus brought under cultivation, than had been known before. This fact shows how quickly the land repays judicious expenditure. The country was divided by Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff into districts, each having its inspector, whose duty it was to keep in order all irrigation works within his circle.

Still, especially in Upper Egypt, more water was required, and many projects for storing the water of the Nile farther south were discussed. The difficulty was to decide upon the best site for a dam across the river. Many places were suggested, and plans were sent in by several eminent engineers.

The Aswân site was thought most practicable by Sir William Garstin, but the contemplated work was of such magnitude that an International Commission was appointed, and their final report in 1894 ended in a recommendation to

construct the works in accordance with the original scheme proposed by Mr. Willcocks, Director-General of Reservoirs, with certain modifications. Had the first plan been carried out, the island of Philæ, with its beautiful temple, would have been submerged, but as now arranged the water only reaches about the floor level. Finally, in February 1898, a contract was signed between the Minister of Public Works and Messrs. Aird & Co., by which the Company undertook to carry out the necessary works for £2,000,000. The foundation-stone was laid by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught on 12th February 1899. The dam is 1¼ mile in length, its greatest height is about 130 feet from the foundation. There are 180 openings, 23 feet high and 6 feet 6 inches wide, in the wall of the dam to allow for the discharge of water with its fertilising mud during the floods. When these subside, the sluices are closed, and the reservoir gradually fills with water, a boon of inestimable value in this parched land. During the construction of the dam the foundation rock was discovered to be at a much lower level than had been anticipated. This knowledge would have discouraged a less able statesman than Lord Cromer, or less enterprising engineers than Sir John Aird, Sir William Garstin, Sir Benjamin Baker, and their energetic staff, by whom all obstacles were overcome, although at a much greater cost. Locks have been constructed on the west side of the dam, through which vessels can pass at all times of the year. These locks are also a marvel of engineering, the largest being 32 feet wide and 60 feet high. There were 13,000 men employed on the works, including 2000 Italians. Owing to the sanitary system carried out with the assistance of Dr. Leigh Canney, the healthy condition of the entire community was maintained.

The whole foundation of the temple of Philæ has been under-pinned, and strengthened to resist the enormous weight of water. This most difficult task has been skilfully carried out by engineers of large practical experience, acting under the direction of Captain Lyons and Sir Benjamin Baker. A careful survey, with minute and detailed description of the temple, was made. The expenses of this portion of the work were guaranteed and largely defrayed by Sir Ernest Cassel, and it is to be hoped that the beautiful temple will thus be effectually preserved.

On the 10th of December 1902, the opening ceremony took place in the presence of H.H. the Khedive, T.R.H. the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, Viscount and Viscountess Cromer, and those able engineers who had been instrumental in completing this gigantic undertaking. The reception of the royal personages was very enthusiastic, and they were conveyed by

train to the east side of the Dam, which they crossed on trolleys to the western side. There an address was presented to them by Fakhri Pasha, Egyptian Minister of Public Works, giving a short statement of the magnitude of the work and the skilful manner in which each individual had done his share. The Khedive then made a speech, thanking their Royal Highnesses for their presence, and asking the Duchess to lay the last stone, as the Duke of Connaught had laid the first four years before. A silver trowel was presented to Her Royal Highness, and she declared the stone to be well and truly laid. The Duke then, by a switch, opened the lock-gates, and a number of gaily dressed boats passed through. Then came the final ceremony, when a silver key in the shape of an "Ankh," called "The Key of the Nile," was handed to the Khedive by Messrs. Ransome and Rapier, the constructors, and with it His Highness turned an electric switch which opened the sluices, and the waters of the great river rushed through with a mighty roar, the spray reaching to the top of the walls. After watching this marvellous sight for some time, the royal party returned through the navigable locks in steamers to Aswân.

Another dam spans the Nile at Asyût, 350 miles below the one at Aswân. It is 2750 feet long, and formed of a succession of arches, 16 feet 4 inches wide, in which sluices are constructed to regulate the flow of the river. The width of the dam at the top is 13 feet, and is used as a roadway across the Nile. New lock-gates have been placed at Derût, at the head of the Ibrahimiyeh Canal.

The peace and prosperity of Egypt is a question of importance to the whole world. It is now, as it has always been, the high road to the East, and, owing to England and France, the facilities of transit have been enormously increased, especially by that masterpiece of engineering, the Suez Canal.

The management of Egypt has been left to England, none of the other Powers apparently caring to share the responsibility. Great praise is therefore due to both civil and military authorities in Egypt and at home for the tactful diplomacy and skill with which they have guided public affairs through the dangers, jealousies, and difficulties which must result when so many different nationalities have each their own interests to protect and ensure.

The work of every department is carried out on careful and economic lines, and Egypt owes much of its present state of prosperity to the attention to detail which has characterised the government of Lord Cromer and his colleagues, upon whom, working with the co-operation and goodwill of the Khedive, the

present and future harmony of Egypt depends. Each year Western civilisation adds to the importance and wealth not only of the country but of the towns.

A new city has grown up around old Cairo, with handsome hotels, private houses, shops and public buildings, and in the suburbs there are zoological and other pleasure gardens. The race and polo meetings which are encouraged by the Khedive are attended by motley crowds of natives in their picturesque costume, as well as by the European community.

Although these innovations are for the permanent good of the country, it is a matter of regret that the poetic charm which formerly surrounded purely Eastern life is being gradually effaced.

The successive changes through which Egypt has passed have each left their mark upon the country. After the dim, prehistoric ages that point to an unknown civilisation, follow the wonderful Pharaohs. The tombs of their mighty dead and the temples of their immortal gods still stand as monuments of their deep religious beliefs and their unrivalled constructive genius. The oppressive Persian occupation had but little influence on Egypt, but the Greek supremacy infused a new element into literature and art. The Romans wisely adapted themselves to the existing conditions of the country, at the same time introducing their own stern laws and military discipline. During the rule of the Mohammedans the splendid luxury of their barbarous Khaliphs left its trace in some of the most beautiful examples of Arab art, while the force of their religion became an undying power in the land.

It now remains to modern explorers and Egyptologists to bring more fully to light this glorious past, while science and civilisation may yet guide Egypt towards a still more glorious future.

THE GREAT DAM ABOVE ASWAN.

CHAPTER XIV

CHRISTIANITY IN EGYPT

"Oh love of those first Christian days,
Fanned so soon into a blaze
From the spark preserved by the trampled sect."
BROWNING: *Christmas Eve and Easter Day.*

EGYPT is indeed honoured above all lands, being the only one except that of His birth that was visited by our Lord Jesus Christ. The route followed by the Holy Family was probably the usual one from Bethlehem to Heliopolis by el Kantara, or "The Bridge," situated to the north of Ismailiyeh. It is said they rested under a great tree[1] at Matariyeh, where there is a spring of pure clear water called the "Spring of the Sun," then they proceeded to Babylon, where they probably remained during their sojourn in Egypt. An ancient synagogue still exists there, in the Roman castle, the foundations of which are supposed to have been laid during the life of our Lord. Up to a recent date ancient books were kept in it, and both Jews and Christians always regarded it as a very holy place. It has been suggested that it was from this Babylon, near the site of the modern Cairo, that St. Peter wrote his Epistle. Near the synagogue there still remains a small Coptic church dedicated to "Sitta Miriam," or "The Lady Mary."

Perhaps no country in the world at this time afforded a more fertile soil for the nourishment of the new faith. For thousands of years the esoteric doctrines of the Egyptian religion had been of a lofty and spiritual nature; their ethical teaching was in accordance with the precepts of Jesus Christ, nor could the doctrine of the Resurrection present any difficulty to them. It is a commonly accepted tradition that St. Mark was the first to preach Christianity in Egypt; he was supposed to be a native of one of the five provinces on the north-west frontier of Egypt

[1] Makrizi calls it a "balsam tree"; now a sycamore stands there of very great antiquity.

called Pentapolis. St. Mark probably first visited Egypt in the second year of the reign of the Emperor Claudius, 42 A.D., and one of his most zealous converts was Annianus,[1] who is said to have been made first Bishop of the new Church.

In the 8th year of Nero, on the 25th April, the same day which commemorates the martyrdom of St. Mark, the Egyptian festival of Serapis took place, and it is possible that during the conflicts at that time between Christians and Pagans, St. Mark met his death.

It has been stated by the early historians that the Church of Egypt was constituted by St. Mark, with the three orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Seven Sacraments were appointed, but two only, Baptism and Holy Communion, were considered essential. Our Church owes many of its customs to the ancient usages of Egypt; amongst them, the white surplice of the priests, and the ends of the leopard skin hanging over their dress, resemble the stoles now worn. Fasting was introduced, but not with the severity afterwards practised, and there is no record of monks or nuns till after the second century had begun.

Annianus remained Patriarch of Alexandria for 22 years, throughout the reigns of 7 Roman emperors. During his episcopate Jerusalem fell, and fierce conflicts raged between the Jews of Palestine and those of Alexandria. This period is minutely described by Flavius Josephus, but there is scant record of the life and doings of Annianus and the early Christians. Annianus died 84 A.D. He was succeeded by Albilius, who apparently bore the same name as the prefect of Egypt, Alvillius Flaccus.

In the 18th year of Trajan there were serious disturbances between the Jews and Greeks, which the prefect Lupus was unable to pacify for a long time, and when, after severe fighting in the time of Cerdo, the Jews were at last conquered, they were deprived of their rights as citizens.

Between the Emperor Hadrian's first and second visits to Egypt, three Patriarchs had succeeded each other—Primus, Justus, and Eumenes; but little is known of any of them.

Many different schools arose, each with its followers. Carpocrates was the first to adopt the name of Gnostic, his system being more Greek in character than those of the others. Basilides' system was very profound, and that of Valentinian the most artistic and full of deep thought. But all their teachings were tinged with the mysticism of the old Pagan learning, so much so, that, to quote a letter from the Emperor Hadrian to

[1] Eusebius, ii. chap. 24, p. 128, edition by P. Schaff, D.D., and H. Wace, D.D., 1890.

the Consul Servianus, "the very Patriarch himself, when he came to Egypt, was said by some to worship Serapis, and by others to worship Christ." But, on the other hand, the Gnostic doctrines seem to have had a wide influence, and the Emperor Hadrian introduced Gnostic symbols on some of his coins.

The Gnostics divided mankind into three sections—the material, in which body and soul perished; the animal, capable of both salvation and damnation; and the spiritual, or themselves, who were certain of salvation. The Epistle of St. Barnabas,[1] about which so much controversy has been held, was accepted as genuine by the Church at Alexandria; but whether written by the Apostle or by some one bearing the same name, its style of thought points to its having had its origin at Alexandria. The dates assigned to it vary from 70 A.D. to 138 A.D., but Dr. Lightfoot's view seems to fix the date not later than 79 A.D. Two MSS. of this Epistle have been found, the one in the Codex Sinaiticus, and the second in 1875 in the Codex Constantinopolitanus, discovered by Bryannios.

The first mention of monastic institutions appears to be about the year 151, when Frontonius, according to tradition, secluded himself with a few followers in the desert of Nitria (Wady Natrûn), and lived in the first "Laura," or settlement, consisting of separate dwellings in rocks and caves.

During the reigns of both Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus, Christians were cruelly persecuted; but notwithstanding this, many notable converts were made. The teachings of St. Polycarp and Justin Martyr had much influence at Alexandria, and helped to refute the heresies which had there gained ground so rapidly.

The celebrated Catechetical School of Alexandria existed about the end of the second century, but no accurate date can be assigned for its foundation. It practically produced the learning of the early Christian Church, which culminated in the teaching of Origen, and its existence specially marks the first epoch in the rise of Egyptian Christianity. This School was formed for the instruction of converts, to prepare them for baptism, teaching them the belief they were about to embrace and the duties devolving on them. These points were clearly explained to them, though as yet no fixed creeds or doctrines of the Christian Church had been formulated. The name of its first Principal is not actually known; but in the reign of Commodus, Pantænus appears to have occupied that position. He was the "Teacher and Spiritual Father" of Clement of Alex-

[1] See page 232, "The Mohammedan Rule."

andria, and is said himself to have been a pupil of Athenagoras, and was well versed, therefore, in the ancient philosophies as well as in the doctrines and faith of Christianity. Julian, who was at this time Patriarch, seems to have sent Pantænus on a mission to the East, and Clement was left in charge of the School during his long absence. Pantænus is thought to have visited Arabia and India, where he found a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel in use, which was regarded as very precious. It is said to have been left there by St. Bartholomew. Pantænus died 194 A.D., and Clement then became sole head of the Catechetical College.

This was a time of great literary activity in Alexandria, both Pagan and Christian writers producing many learned works. One of the most distinguished was Claudius Ptolemy, 139 A.D., geographer and astronomer. He has left some interesting[1] maps of the earth as he imagined it, observations on eclipses, and books on mathematics and harmony. Clement contributed largely to the number of writings, and three of his books written in Greek are still in existence, besides fragments of others. In one of them, his "Pedagogus," he writes of social customs and of the need to strive after perfection. His "Protepticon" treats of mythology and philosophy, and his "Stromata" of theology. Clement was gentle and calm, a great scholar and fluent writer, and his style is considered as a very fine example of classic Greek.

The Christians enjoyed liberty for many years, but in 202 A.D. Severus issued a decree forbidding conversion to either Judaism or Christianity. This was followed by a bitter persecution in the 10th year of Severus, more especially in Alexandria, where so large a number of Christians were congregated. Demetrius the Patriarch remained, but the College was closed, and Clement fled the country. Among those who suffered for the faith was Leonides, father of Origen, a man of very enlightened views. He was a steadfast Christian, but sent his son to the public school and gave him the best education in his power. He seems to have been much beloved in his family circle, and personally taught his own religion to his son, who often surprised and puzzled him with searching questions. It is said that when told by his sorrowing mother of the arrest of his father, Origen was with difficulty restrained from following him and sharing his fate. His mother's entreaties at last prevailed, but he sent a letter to his father, saying, "Take heed not to change your mind on our account." The estates of Leonides were all confiscated, and the family were brought to penury. A wealthy lady living in Alexandria took Origen under her pro-

[1] See page 2.

tection, but after a time he left her, and, having collected a number of books, began to teach a few pupils found for him by Demetrius the Patriarch. Several of these were older than himself, and amongst them may be mentioned Plutarch, who was subsequently martyred, and Heraclas, his brother, who afterwards assisted Origen in his school, and finally became Patriarch. Origen was appointed head of the Catechetical School when only 18 years of age. He studied the individual characters of his pupils, and encouraged any special talent he found in them. His course of instruction began with geometry, physics, and astronomy, leading up to the higher studies of ethics and theology. He was indefatigable in his work, and continued to teach all day, and often far into the night, in spite of persecution and bitter opposition, and he attended the schools of his opponents in order to fit himself for controversy with them. His arduous work and his austerities told upon his health, and he was sent to Rome by Demetrius to rest. After a short stay, he returned 218 A.D., and resumed his labours with greater zeal than ever. He began his celebrated work the "Hexapla," or sixfold Bible, having previously studied Hebrew, so as to be able to compare the original texts with those of the translators. The fame of Origen as a teacher and man of great learning spread far and wide, and he was entreated to visit Antioch and Arabia, Palestine and Greece. At Cæsarea he was ordained 230 A.D. by Theocistis, the Bishop, assisted by Alexander of Jerusalem. His ordination in another diocese deeply offended Demetrius, who shortly afterwards expelled him from Alexandria, and he settled at Cæsarea, where some of his pupils followed him, and his friend Ambrose and his wife came to live near him. The remainder of his life was spent in teaching, in refuting heresies, and writing a large number of theological works. The earlier works and teaching of Origen were so full of Oriental mysticism that he was accused of heresy; but his later writings were orthodox and approved by Athanasius. In 250 A.D. a merciless persecution of Christians in the reign of Decius began, and Origen was seized and imprisoned. The cruel tortures inflicted on him were borne with the greatest courage, but his health was broken, though not his spirit, and he died at Tyre, 253 A.D., in the 69th year of his age.

Dionysius, a pupil of Origen, succeeded to the Bishopric of Alexandria. He, as well as other heads of the Church, were the chief objects of the Decian persecution—and numbers of these suffered martyrdom—but very many Christians became outwardly apostates and sacrificed to the gods at this time, and when the persecution ceased wished to be received back into the

Church. The question was a very difficult one, and a Council of 60 bishops assembled at Carthage under Cyprian to decide whether these persons should be re-admitted to the Christian fold. There were long discussions on the subject, but in the end the gentler counsels of Cyprian and Dionysius prevailed, and a scale of penances was drawn up to suit the different degrees of offences committed. Amongst those who fled from persecution at this time was a young man of Alexandria named Paul. He took refuge in the Desert, where he lived a hermit's life for 90 years. He subsisted on dates and on food brought to him by the people, who soon learned to reverence him as a holy man. He preached Christianity to them, and his fame reached the ears of St. Anthony, who in early life visited the ancient hermit shortly before his death, which took place at the age of 113.

Paul and Anthony may be said to be the forerunners of that monastic movement which became so important a century later. After the death of Decius, the persecution of Christians went on under Gallus and Valerian till 259 A.D., when Gallienus succeeded; he by an edict granted religious liberty to the Christians, which they continued to enjoy through three successive reigns. Dionysius, still Bishop of Alexandria, took advantage of the peaceful times to travel through his diocese preaching and exhorting the people. He was one of the best and noblest of men, never sparing himself in times of trouble, sickness, or sorrow, but was occasionally misunderstood. The accusation brought against him of heresy in denying the Divinity of Christ resulted in a controversy with his namesake, Dionysius of Rome, which he carried on in so dignified a manner that further schism was avoided. He also refuted what he considered to be the heretical doctrines of Nepos, Bishop of Arsinoë. He held the episcopate for 17 years, and died 265 A.D. He was succeeded by Maximus, during whose episcopate St. Anthony, according to tradition, began his life as a hermit. This saint was born at Koma, in Upper Egypt, in 251 A.D.; his parents died when he was about 18, leaving him with great wealth and the guardianship of a little sister. Six months later, on entering a church, he heard the words of the Gospel, "If thou wouldst be perfect, sell all that thou hast and give to the poor"; and this injunction so impressed him, that he literally obeyed the command, sold the lands he inherited and all his possessions, only reserving a portion for his sister, whom he left in charge of some good women. He lived an austere and solitary life in a cave in the Desert, subsisting on bread and water brought to him by the people. His fame grew and spread, and after 20 years he left his retreat and proceeded to Alexandria, where he denounced

the heresy of Arian and held correspondence with the Emperor Constantine on the subject. After a short time spent in Alexandria, he returned to the Desert, and took up his abode in a ruined castle by the Red Sea, where he was joined by other holy men. A monastery still exists in that district bearing his name. He was 105 years old when he died, and he ordered that his burial-place should be kept secret, as he so much disapproved of the adoration of relics, a custom which was just beginning.

Theonas became Patriarch of Alexandria 282 A.D., after the death of Maximus,[1] and for a few years there was tranquillity in Egypt for the Christians. A great church was built at Alexandria, and dedicated to the Virgin. Diocletian was now emperor, and many Christians occupied offices about his palace at Rome, which naturally gave those in Egypt more confidence. A letter attributed to Theonas, and addressed to Lucian, the High Chancellor, who was a Christian, cautions him to beware of bribery, to act with kindness and courtesy to all, to set an example of a virtuous Christian life, and also to practise order and neatness in the case of all articles entrusted to him. The librarian, another Christian, was also directed to "know all his books, and to arrange them by the catalogue"; and many other minute rules were laid down. Theonas died 300 A.D. In 303, however, Diocletian issued a formal edict against the Christians, having been instigated to do so by the Prefect Maximin of Alexandria, and persecutions were carried on with relentless cruelty by the Romans in Egypt. Among the martyrs was, it is said, Sitta Dimiana, a very beautiful girl who adopted the religious life at an early age. She became abbess of her convent, which held 40 nuns, and was situated at Belkas.[2] When the persecution began, the emperor endeavoured to persuade her father to sacrifice to the gods, so as to save his own life and that of his daughter and the nuns. He hesitated, but Dimiana urged him to be steadfast, and the emperor was so enraged at his decision that he caused Dimiana and all the nuns to be tortured and afterwards beheaded. Her shrine is still held sacred, and yearly pilrimages are made to it by the Copts.

Some accounts state that Peter, the Patriarch of Alexandria, concealed himself for a time during this troubled period, and Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis, took the authority on himself, consecrating bishops and deacons, who proclaimed themselves independent of Alexandria. Meletius separated from the

[1] A papyrus in the Amherst Collection mentions both these Patriarchs, dating about the year 270 A.D.

[2] A town near Damietta.

Church, and Arius his friend, and many others, especially in Upper Egypt, followed him. The terrible persecution of Christians, in the 9th year of which Peter suffered martyrdom, ceased at last with the edict of peace, which Galerius the emperor proclaimed on his deathbed. This fearful time has well been named "The Era of Martyrs," and it was from the 1st year of Diocletian, 284 A.D., that the Alexandrian Church began to compute its years.

About this time arose the great Arian Controversy, which marks the second epoch of Egyptian Church History. Arius, who was a pupil of Lucian of Antioch, the greatest critic of the age, had been ordained deacon by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, and in 318 A.D. had charge of the Church of Baucalis at Alexandria, but afterwards joined the schism led by Miletius. Arius "could not get over the philosophical difficulty that one who is man cannot also be God, and therefore a second God," and preached the doctrine denying that "God the Son had existed from all eternity with God the Father." This so stirred up the minds of the people, that Alexander the Bishop was forced to warn him and his followers to abstain from spreading their heretical opinions. Arius retired to Palestine for a time, and returned to Egypt with a still greater number of adherents. Meantime Peter had suffered martyrdom, and Achillas was favourable to Arius and made him a presbyter. Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, tried to reconcile the opposing parties in the Church, but failed. Constantine had now become emperor, and being himself a Christian and wishing to establish peace, sent a letter by Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, to Alexander, now Patriarch of Alexandria, desiring that there might be unity and concord. This proving impossible, the emperor summoned a Council of all the bishops to meet him at Nicea (The City of Victory), in Asia Minor, 325 A.D. More than 300[1] bishops were present, and also many of the other clergy, amongst whom was Athanasius, the young deacon who accompanied Bishop Alexander, and whose sound reasoning greatly helped the Council to its decision. "Athanasius had just written his celebrated book the *Incarnatione Verbi Dei*, which is considered to be one of the soundest treatises ever written on the true Christian belief."[2] The Creed, still called the "Nicene Creed," was after much deliberation finally adopted, so as to refute the heresy of Arius, who was again excommunicated and exiled

[1] 318 is the precise number. The mystic number in Greek T.I.H. which stands for the Cross of Christ. It suggested the seeking of mystical numbers for the later Councils.—Stanley, *History of the Eastern Church.*

[2] Gwatkin's *Study of Arianism.*

to Illyricum. Many questions were settled by this Council, amongst others the date of Easter was determined, and 20 canons were passed for the future government of the Church. Arius and his supporter, Eusebius of Nicomedia, were, however, through the intervention of Constantia, sister of the emperor, received back into favour by Constantine; but Athanasius, who had succeeded to the Bishopric of Alexandria, refused to allow him to return there. Frequent dissensions arose, and the Arians complained so bitterly to the emperor of the violence of Athanasius, that another Council was summoned, before which Athanasius was arraigned at Tyre, and in his turn he was excommunicated. He went to Constantinople and appealed to the emperor in person, but the sentence was eventually confirmed, and Athanasius was banished to Treves. Arius died at Constantinople, 336 A.D., in a sudden and terrible manner, on the eve of his re-admission to the communion of the Church there, at the age of 80.

In 338 A.D., Athanasius was reinstated as Bishop of Alexandria by Constantine II., and was received with great rejoicing by his flock. But his enemies made false accusations against him to the emperor, and Eusebius of Nicomedia, the head of the Arian party, fomented the quarrel, and persuaded Constantine to allow him to convene a Council at Antioch, where Athanasius was once more deposed, and Gregory, who was very bitter against him, was appointed as Bishop of Alexandria in his stead. Athanasius went to Rome and appealed to Pope Julius, who called a meeting of 50 Roman bishops, and these decided in favour of Athanasius. After many discussions, the Arians had been unable to agree upon a Creed which would satisfy them all, and at last Julius induced the emperor to call yet another Council, which met at Sardica, in Mœtia, 343 A.D., and confirmed the decisions of the Council of Nicea. Gregory was murdered in 346 A.D., and Athanasius a second time was restored to the Bishopric of Alexandria.

The Emperor Constans, who had so befriended Athanasius, and had reigned conjointly with Constantine II. and Constantius, who held Arian views, was assassinated in 350 A.D., and Pope Julius being likewise dead, the Arians again began their intrigues against Athanasius.

At the Councils summoned at Arles in 353, and at Milan in 355 A.D., sentences of condemnation were again passed against Athanasius, and in 356 A.D. he was attacked in his church at Alexandria, where he behaved with great bravery, desiring those present to join in a psalm; but he was finally obliged to fly for his life to the Desert, where he was concealed

by monks until the death of the Emperor Constantius in 361 A.D. Julian, called the Apostate, succeeded as emperor, and permitted all exiled bishops to return to their Sees. Athanasius returned for the third time to Alexandria, amid great rejoicing, 22nd February 362 A.D. He was, however, not long allowed to remain in peace, but was again in danger through the jealousy of Julius, and went up the Nile to Memphis, where he remained concealed till, on the death of Julius, he was summoned to return to Alexandria by Jovian, the new emperor, and he appeared for the fourth time among his people as their Bishop, 363 A.D. Valens became emperor in 364, and being an Arian, once more ordered the banishment of all those bishops who had been previously allowed to return. Athanasius left his palace quietly and hid in the precincts of the city, and 4 months later, the edict being revoked, he, for the fifth time, was reinstated. He was allowed at last to end his life in peace, and died on the 2nd May 373 A.D., having been Bishop for 46 years.

Through all his troubled life, Athanasius never once swerved from his high standard of duty or from the faith he so nobly upheld, the form of which remains to this hour the basis of the doctrines of the orthodox Christian Church.

The troubles and persecutions which had afflicted Alexandria for so long a time had terrified the Christian inhabitants to such a degree, that they fled to the desert in thousands, and there formed themselves into communities.

Unlike the formation of the Catechetical School and the Arian Controversy, which movements were the outcome more especially of the Greek element in the Egyptian Church, this new development of monasticism, which marks a special epoch, was the result of the Christian doctrines having by this time spread to the native Coptic population. They built monasteries and convents throughout the land, and became the founders of religious orders. There were three kinds of monks—Cænobites, who lived in monasteries with their families; Anchorites, who lived in solitary cells; and Remoboths, who dwelt two or three together in cities. A few of these monks may be mentioned, such as Pachomius and Apollonius, who was head of a community of 500 monks; Elias, who lived alone in a great cavern on the mountain side; and John of Lycopolis,[1] who lived in a cell at the top of a rock, received and distributed money brought to him by the people for the support of the poor. He was celebrated for his wisdom, and was often consulted on important questions.

On the death of Athanasius, Peter II., who had been

[1] See page 2.

nominated by him, succeeded to the Bishopric, and once more Alexandria became the scene of tumult. Peter escaped with difficulty, and finally fled to Rome, 373 A.D.

Lucius, an Arian who usurped the See, began his rule by persecution of the orthodox Christians, and more especially of the monks and nuns. He drove many bishops into exile, and one "Melas" became Bishop of El Arish, on the frontier of Egypt. Christianity spread rapidly both in that district and in Nubia. In 378 A.D., as the power of Lucius had dwindled, Peter returned to Alexandria, and died three years after. He was succeeded by his brother Timothy I., 380 A.D., called "The Poor," because he had renounced all his possessions.

At a Council which met in 381 A.D. at Constantinople, the question of precedence of the various Sees was discussed, and after a fierce dispute it was settled that Rome should occupy the first place, Constantinople the second, and Alexandria the third. This so displeased Timothy, that he left the Council and at once returned to Egypt with his bishops. He spent his life quietly, writing biographies of the saints, and sending instructions to his clergy on matters of Church government. He died in 385, and Theophilus, who had been secretary to Athanasius, next filled the chair of the Patriarchs at Alexandria. He was very zealous and active, but not always wise in his actions. He enjoyed the confidence of the Emperor Theodosius, and obtained from him the site of a deserted temple of Bacchus in Alexandria for a church. He treated all relics of Paganism found there with great disrespect, wantonly destroying statues and monuments, and this gave rise to frequent quarrels between the Christians and their opponents. The great temple of Serapis was used by the Pagans as a fortress. In it they successfully held the Christians at bay for a considerable time, until at last Theophilus asked the emperor for instructions, and a decree was sent, ordering the demolition of all the temples in Alexandria. The Pagans left their retreat and hid themselves, and next day the Patriarch and Prefect rode together and entered the temple, accompanied by soldiers, each carrying an axe. Few had ever seen the image of the god Serapis, and the multitude looked on in spellbound silence when the word was given to strike it. The head of the god rolled to the ground, and out of the hollow trunk ran numerous terrified mice! Awe gave place to laughter, and the work of destruction went on rapidly, till not one statue was left entire. Theophilus was twice summoned to Constantinople, once on the occasion of consecrating the grand Church of SS. Peter and Paul, and the second time to assist in the consecration of Chrysostom as

Bishop of Constantinople. Theophilus had always shown a marked preference for the monks, and selected his bishops from among them; but they became arrogant, and so resented his authority that a violent quarrel ensued. Theophilus complained to the Emperor Theodosius at Constantinople, and the monks sent a deputation there to the great and eloquent Bishop St. John Chrysostom, complaining of Theophilus, and asserting that he tried to force them to subscribe to false doctrines. Chrysostom summoned Theophilus to Constantinople, but he landed at Chalcedon, where a Council was to assemble, and ordered Chrysostom to appear before it to answer counter charges brought against him. The Council deposed Chrysostom, but the people of Constantinople, enraged at the degradation of their favourite, clamoured for his restoration. He was therefore reinstated for a short time, and Theophilus returned hastily to Alexandria; but he still continued his accusations against Chrysostom, and finally procured his sentence of banishment in 404 A.D. The latter years of Theophilus' life were spent in consolidating the Church in Egypt and increasing the power of the Episcopate. His fiery career ended peacefully, and he died in October 412 A.D.

Amongst the remarkable men of the time of Theophilus was Synesius of Cyrene, a pupil of the beautiful Hypatia, daughter of "Theon the philosopher," whose deep learning made her Pagan school so remarkable a landmark in the history of those days. Fascinated at first by the poetic beauty of her teaching, Synesius became her devoted follower, and even went to Athens to extend his knowledge of Plato and Aristotle; but not being satisfied with their philosophy, he returned to Alexandria, and there, though continuing his firm friendship with Hypatia, he became a Christian, and married a Christian lady in 403 A.D. He returned with his wife to his native town, Ptolemaïs, which he defended against the inroads of barbaric tribes. When peace was established, he continued his theological studies, was baptized, and afterwards ordained by Theophilus, although a married man. The strict rule that bishops must be celibates was relaxed in his favour, and he was appointed to the See of Ptolemaïs. He lived through much sorrow, losing his wife and all his children, and a touching letter to Hypatia concludes: "I would to God I could cease to live, or cease to think of my children's graves." [1] His prayer was granted, for he did not long survive them.

Other noted Christians who exercised great influence among their fellows at this time were Shenoda, who from being a

[1] Butcher, *The Story of the Church of Egypt.*

shepherd boy became the head of a monastic community; Palladius, who some years later, having visited India, wrote a history of the Brahmin religion; and Isidore of Pelusium, the author of many learned theological treatises.

The four celebrated MSS. of the New Testament still in existence were written in Egypt about the middle of the fourth century. They are in the Libraries of the Vatican, Paris, St. Petersburg, and London.[1]

Egypt gave more religious learning to the world at this time than any other country, and her Church grew and flourished. It seems strange that the Catechetical School which had so long been the glory of Alexandria was closed about this date. It was a fatal step, its consequences reaching farther than was ever dreamt of at the time.

Cyril, who succeeded Theophilus as Patriarch of Alexandria, 412 A.D., had a strong rival in Timotheus the Archdeacon, and his position was not won without much opposition. Cyril was violent and headstrong, and organised an army of 5000 monks, who acted under his orders and were ready to carry out his behests. His fiery zeal was shown in his continued hatred of and opposition to Hypatia and her school, and led to her cruel murder on the steps of the Cæsareum by the infuriated mob, headed by Peter the Reader. After this horrible event Cyril seemed awed for a while, and occupied himself with the affairs of his diocese. Meantime Nestorius had been appointed Bishop of Constantinople. There still existed bitter jealousy on the part of the bishops of Alexandria against those of Constantinople, owing to the lower rank that had been assigned to them at the Council of Chalcedon, and Cyril, like Theodosius, resented this very deeply. Nestorius also was inferior to Cyril in learning, and these causes combined led him to criticise very keenly any writings of the former on theological subjects. Nestorius taught that in Christ there were two Persons, the Divine and the human. The Divine Logos, the Word, dwelt in the Man Jesus, and therefore he objected to the title of "Mother of God" being applied to the Virgin, maintaining that it ought to be "Mother of Christ"; such violent and heated argument on this point ensued between Cyril, Nestorius, and Pope Celestine of Rome, that it was found necessary by the Emperor Theodosius II. to convene a Council to settle the dispute. This was the celebrated Council of Ephesus, held in the year 431 A.D. Cyril was President, and, having taken 50

[1] Sent from Cyrellus Lucaris, Patriarch of Constantinople, to Charles I. in 1628, by Sir Thomas Rowe, and placed in the British Museum, and is said to be written by Thecla, a noble Egyptian lady, after the Council of Nicea, fourth or fifth century.

of his own bishops with him, declined to await the arrival of the Bishop of Antioch and others, who had to come from a long distance, but at once pronounced the condemnation of Nestorius, who was undefended. When the other bishops arrived, they were furious, and further unseemly quarrels resulted. The emperor dismissed the assembly, desiring them to return "to their provinces and endeavour to repair the mischief this meeting has produced." Nestorius retired to a monastery, and afterwards died in exile in the Great Oasis. Cyril and his bishops returned to Egypt in 431 A.D., and he was fully occupied in endeavouring to refute the heresy of Nestorius, which had spread very fast. Cyril died in 444 A.D., having been Patriarch nearly 30 years, and Dioscorus, still more arrogant and fiery, succeeded him. The great controversial question now before the Church was to hold with or side against the doctrine taught by Eutyches, and called "Monophysite"—that there was only one nature in Christ, the human being absorbed in the Divine as a drop of water is in the ocean; or whether against the Nestorian doctrine of two distinct Persons, the Divine and the human. Dioscorus allowed no divergence from the doctrine of Eutyches, nor any discussion whatever on the Nicene Creed, but forced his bishops by threats of personal violence and imprisonment to sign the articles of faith as drawn up by him. Later on, Eutyches was accused by his enemies of heresy, and the old man was dragged from his monastery to appear before another Council at Ephesus. Dioscorus was its President, and he left Alexandria with his bishops. The Council met at Ephesus on 8th August 449 A.D.; but the behaviour of the assembly was so disgraceful that it resulted in a tumult, in the midst of which Dioscorus managed to make the bishops sign a paper he had drawn up, agreeing to the deposition of Flavian, Bishop of Constantinople, who was hated by Dioscorus. Flavian died three days after, from the ill-treatment he had received during the meeting of the Council. Dioscorus returned triumphant to Alexandria, but Leo II., then Pope of Rome, spared no pains to reverse the decisions of the stormy Council. In consequence, the new emperor Marcian summoned another great Council to meet at Chalcedon on the Bosphorus on 8th October 451 A.D., which 600 bishops attended. The Pope's Legate presided, and the proceedings were conducted with greater decency than on former occasions. Eutyches and Dioscorus were condemned, and the orthodox doctrine of "Christ in one Person and two Natures" was finally firmly established. The Council ended in the deposition of both Dioscorus and Eutyches. The former retired to Gangra in

Paphlagonia, Asia Minor, where he died 3 years after, 454 A.D. The Church at Alexandria refused to acknowledge the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, and separated itself from the communion of the Greek and Roman Churches. This unfortunate step may be considered as marking the fourth epoch in the history of the Egyptian Church. The result of the Coptic Church embracing the Monophysite doctrine led to its isolation from the other great Churches of Christendom, and to its subsequent decay, leaving it an easy prey two centuries later to the great inroad of Mohammedanism.[1] An inscription in which Theodorus, Bishop of Aswân, records the consecration of the temple at Philæ to the God of the Christians, registers the overthrow of official Paganism in Egypt from this date.

The dethronement of their Patriarch caused the greatest anger and dismay at Alexandria. Proterius, who had been appointed successor to Dioscorus by the Council, was therefore very unpopular, and had to be protected by an armed force. A rising took place, and the soldiers were driven to find refuge in the temple of the Serapeum, but in the confusion this caught fire, and the unhappy men were all burnt. The Prefect Florus retaliated, but at length a hollow peace was made, which lasted fairly well till the death of the Emperor Marcian, 457 A.D. Shortly after, Proterius was murdered, and Timotheus Ælurus, called "The Cat," or "Weasel," was elected in his place by the Alexandrians. The new emperor Leo, however, determining to try to reconcile the disputing factions in Alexandria, banished Timotheus Ælurus, and caused another Timotheus, Salofaciolus (The Wearer of the White Turban), a quiet, peaceable man, to be appointed in his place. He ruled Egypt well for 16 years, and was beloved by the people, even by those who did not on all points agree with him. He established the precedent that, in future, the election of the Patriarchs of Alexandria might be left to the people of Egypt without interference from other Churches. Timotheus died in exile in the monastery of Canopus in 482 A.D., and John Talaia was chosen Patriarch, but never enthroned, as his enemies made accusations against him at Constantinople to the Emperor Zeno, and Peter Mongus (The Stammerer) was elected in his stead, 477 A.D. A document called the "Henoticon," or "Instrument of Union," upholding the decisions of the three great Councils, was sent by the emperor to the Eastern Churches for signature, and was intended to reconcile the disputing parties. Instead, it seems only to have made things worse in Egypt, and to have set the Churches more violently against each other, the two parties

[1] See page 247.

being divided into those who signed the "Henoticon," and those who refused to do so.

The reign of the Emperor Anastatius, 491 A.D., and his contemporary in Egypt, the Patriarch Athanasius, was marked as one of peace, and although the Church in Rome remained hostile, the four great Sees of the East, Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, with the Church in Abyssinia, held together. It was fortunate that the successor of Athanasius, John Hemula, resembled him in character, and was equally charitable and forbearing.

Another John came next, of Nikiu, 507 A.D., and he and Severus of Antioch began a correspondence on Church matters between the Sees of Antioch and Alexandria. During this peaceful time the arts of writing and illumination flourished, and beautiful specimens still survive. An early MS. of a work on Plants by Dioscorides "is still preserved at Vienna; it was made for one of the Byzantine princesses, and is beautifully illustrated." There is also at Vienna a copy of the Book of Genesis with 88 paintings, chiefly executed by Christodorus, a native of Thebes. After the death of John Nikiota, the emperor nominated Dioscorus II. to the Patriarchate, 517 A.D.; but he, disregarding the emperor's nomination, and knowing how the people would resent any interference with their rights, offered himself to them for election, and was chosen by them. Bad feeling had, however, been stirred up among some of the population, and a riot ensued, during which Theodosius, the son of a high official, was killed. The emperor was very angry, and Dioscorus went himself to Constantinople to intercede for Alexandria, and gained a pardon for the city. Although the succeeding Patriarchs were scarcely so wise or forbearing, peace continued in Egypt throughout the reign of the Emperor Justinus I. and the early years of Justinianus, who ascended the throne in 527 A.D. In 550 A.D., Justinianus seems to have tried to force a Patriarch of his own choosing on Alexandria, which caused great offence, but apparently this was after the death of Timothy III., the successor of Dioscorus. A fresh schism broke out, and the Church divided into two parties, one insisting that the body of our Lord was corruptible, and the other that it was incorruptible; both parties chose a candidate for the Patriarchate, and dissensions ran high. To settle these differences, the emperor sent a man called Paul, who was not even an Egyptian, to be installed Patriarch, and with him a military escort for his protection. The Alexandrians refused to recognise him, and Paul retired with his soldiers into the great church of the Cæsareum. Eventually, after much dis-

Coptic Priest with two Acolytes

turbance, Paul was banished, and the emperor sent Zoilus in his stead in 543 A.D., whose authority was equally disregarded. Henceforth, until the period of the Arab conquest, there were two Patriarchs in Egypt—the Greek, or Melkite one, who lived in the palace at Alexandria and was appointed by the emperor, and the other, the Coptic, or "Monophysite," who lived in Nitria, and was elected by the people and looked upon by them as their spiritual head. The emperor's Patriarch received all the revenues of the Church, and it is curious that from this time the Coptic, or Egyptian, language came into general use, while Greek was only retained in the State Church. The breach between the Greek and Coptic Churches grew wider and wider, and party spirit ran so high that special colours were adopted in religious as well as in civil strife. The Greeks wore blue, and the Copts green.

Egypt passed through a troublous period in 550 A.D.; famine, pestilence, and earthquakes brought sorrow and misery with them; but the Christian religion grew and prospered in spite of these disasters, until it spread from Alexandria to the farthest borders of Ethiopia. In 566 A.D. the Emperor Justinian died. The following year, Theodosius, the Coptic Patriarch, died also, and Peter IV. was elected his successor, 568 A.D. During his Patriarchate, Jacobus, Bishop of Edessa, came to Alexandria. He had been a missionary for some years among the outlying churches of Egypt, and had ordained many priests and deacons. His followers were afterwards named Jacobites, and were "one in faith with the National Church of Egypt, rejecting the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon." The intention of Jacobus was to make peace between the Churches of Egypt and Syria, but their disputes seem to have become more bitter, especially upon the subject of "the procession of the Spirit," and the "worship of images."

The Patriarch Damian succeeded Peter, 570 A.D., and in his turn was succeeded by Anastatius, 603 A.D., who visited every portion of his diocese. He built a new church in Alexandria, in spite of the residence of the Imperial Patriarch in that city, and dedicated it to the Archangel Michael, whom the Egyptians had been persuaded in the fourth century to substitute for their god Thoth, and the feast formerly held in honour of that god was now, on the same day, held in honour of St. Michael. During the struggle, 610 A.D., between the Emperors Phocas and Heraclius, the Egyptians for the most part espoused the cause of Heraclius. The Patriarchs, both of the Greek and Coptic Churches, seem to have taken an active part in the quarrel, and Theodore, the Greek Patriarch, was killed. Heraclius'

troops were in the end successful, and he was recognised as Emperor.

In 614 A.D. the Persians entered Egypt, and easily made themselves masters of the country. Previous to their arrival they had overrun Syria, and the Christians from thence had taken refuge in Egypt in great numbers, most of them in much poverty and distress. For the first time there seems to have been unity between the Greek and Coptic Patriarchs, and they vied with each other in showing kindness to the refugees. John, the Greek Patriarch, was by far the richer, but was so lavish in his gifts that his stores were soon exhausted. When the Persians really came, John left the country and went to Cyprus, leaving Andronicus, 614 A.D., the Coptic Bishop, sole Patriarch in Egypt. John died in Cyprus and Andronicus in Egypt, the following year, and the Greeks, fearing the revenues of the Church would be appropriated by the Copts, appointed George their Patriarch, 621 A.D.; the Coptic Church appointing a monk called Benjamin, 620 A.D.

In 629 A.D., Heraclius had leisure to try to win back Egypt from the Persians, and wisely set to work to gain over the Coptic Church to his side. Three bishops of different shades of opinion having been consulted, an "Act of Union" was decided on, which made no allusion to the Council of Chalcedon, but affirmed one "Will" in our Lord, instead of one "Nature." This document was signed by all three bishops, of whom one, Cyrus,[1] was appointed Greek Patriarch of Alexandria. Most of the Egyptian laity subscribed to the doctrine, but it did not satisfy the Greek communion, and one of their number, Sophronius, a monk of Palestine, possessed of great learning and influence, opposed the "Act of Union" strongly, and implored Cyrus to have it withdrawn. The Coptic Patriarch Benjamin refused to discuss the matter, or to accept any theological doctrine coming from the Emperor. Cyrus was enraged, and tried by cruel means to force the compliance of Benjamin and his clergy, but they fled into Upper Egypt, and Cyrus banished Benjamin to the Thebaid.

In 639 A.D. the Arab invasion began, and, having overrun Syria, Amr, the leader of the Mohammedan troops, turned his attention to Egypt. The country was torn with religious strife, and this was much to the advantage of the Moslems; they were greatly assisted by the governor, or the Mukawkis, who seems now to be identified with Cyrus,[2] the Melkite Patriarch and governor. He, it seems, tried to play into the hands of Amr and at the same time not to lose the support of Heraclius,

[1] See page 240, "Arab Conquest." [2] See page 240, "Arab Conquest."

and is said to have hit upon the expedient of offering his beautiful daughter Armenosa to Constantine, the emperor's son, for his wife, and she set off with a large military escort. At Bilbeys she heard of the invasion of Amr, and she defended the town against him till she was taken prisoner; he, however, sent her back unharmed. By this act Amr secured the real allegiance and support of the Mukawkis, or Cyrus, who went over to his side. In 641 A.D., Amr threatened an attack upon Alexandria, and Cyrus returned to that city, which was besieged by the Arabs. After 14 months, the place, weakened by internal dissensions between the Greeks and the Copts, was taken by the Moslems. Cyrus was given authority from Constantinople to treat with Amr, and terms of peace were drawn up. Amr fixed a sum as annual tribute, and promised good terms to those who embraced the doctrines of Mohammed. Beyond imposing a poll tax he did not act severely towards the Christians, but promised to respect their churches and to avoid interference in their affairs. He made Menas, a Copt, one of his governors, and placed other Christians in positions of trust. In December 641 A.D., Egypt came under the control of the Moslems, whose power has lasted for so many centuries.

The monks of Nitria approached Amr in solemn deputation to demand the return of their rightful Patriarch Benjamin, and Amr, fully realising the importance of gaining over the Copts, at once acceded to the request, and Benjamin was joyfully welcomed back to Alexandria. This was a bitter blow to Cyrus, who, however, was near his end, and died on Palm Sunday, 642 A.D. In 653 A.D., Amr sent his general Abdallah-ibn-Saad to subdue Nubia. He destroyed a Coptic church at Dongola, and afterwards promised not again to invade Nubia, if its people would allow a mosque to be built and kept in order for the use of the Moslems. This compact was drawn up "In the Name of God and His Prophet Mohammed, and of the Messiah, the Apostles, and all whom ye revere in your creed and religion."[1] The aged Patriarch Benjamin died in 659 A.D. He had faithfully served his Church, and had been reverenced by all. His successor was Agatho, who was much troubled by a Greek named Theodosius, who took offence at some fancied insult and exacted from him a heavy fine, but he died before it was paid. John of Sebennytos succeeded him, and was imprisoned and tortured by the extortionate Emir, until his people raised a heavy ransom for his release. The Church of St. Mark in Alexandria was rebuilt by him. When John died in 686 A.D., the Patriarch Isaac was elected, and the governor Abd-el-Aziz,

[1] Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt.*

who had previously persecuted the Christians, permitted the erection of two Coptic churches at Helwan, where he lived. In 688 A.D., Isaac having died, a new Patriarch had to be chosen, and John, Abbot of Nitria, was brought to the governor for his approval, as it was useless to try to appoint any one without his sanction. He preferred a monk called Simon, who was eventually appointed, 689 A.D., and gladly chose John as his assistant. Simon was a very holy man, strict and zealous in his religious duties, and anxious to reform the abuses in the monasteries. He sent John of Nikiu to inquire into these, who wrote a chronicle of Egyptian Church History, which was translated into Ethiopic by an Abyssinian in 1594, and is most valuable in historical literature.

John appears to have erred on the side of over severity, and was discharged from his office. During the Patriarchate of Simon the question of divorce arose, probably owing to laxity having crept in from the example of the Moslems. The matter was referred to Abd-el-Aziz for settlement, but he recommended that a Council of bishops should be summoned to discuss and arrange their own affairs, which was done.

Simon was asked by a Christian community in India to send them a bishop, and the priest who was sent in response was taken prisoner on his way back by the Khaliph of Baghdad, who feared that a conspiracy was being raised against him in Egypt. He therefore sent a warning to his governor, who seized Simon, and a very severe punishment was ordered for him. This was averted by the courage of a priest, who came forward and proved his innocence. Simon was, however, poisoned in 700 A.D., but no Patriarch was elected till, in 703 A.D., Alexander II., a monk of the Natrûn Valley, was named as his successor.

The governor Abd-el-Aziz greatly oppressed the Christians, and imposed a poll tax. He died very suddenly, and his death was supposed to be a judgment on him for insulting a picture of the Virgin and Child in a church at Helwan. His brother Abdallah, who became Khaliph, was far more tyrannical and cruel to the Christians, and when the Patriarch civilly went to visit him on his accession, he threw him into prison, and demanded a heavy ransom for his release. With great difficulty the money was found, but Abdallah trebled the yearly tribute, and many of the Christians adopted Islam in despair. Under succeeding Khaliphs things were no better, exactions and persecutions were continued, and still more money demanded from the Patriarch. A monk in the Thebaid, who was excavating the ground for a cell, found some chests full of treasure, and

part of this was to be devoted to pay the sum demanded by the Khaliph; but the men who carried it stole it on the way, and thus it never reached its destination. The story was told to the Khaliph, who insisted that there must be treasure somewhere, and tortured the unfortunate Patriarch; but to no purpose, as in reality he and the Church were so poor that glass and wooden vessels were used at the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

In 722, A.D. Obeydallah, by the Khaliph's (Yezid II.) orders, caused the destruction of all sacred pictures in the churches. These and other insults roused the Egyptian Christians to revolt, and a rising took place in the Delta, which ended in the massacre of many of them. Cyriacus, king of Nubia, came with 100,000 men to defend his fellow-Christians, and obliged the Arabs to liberate the Patriarch, who had been imprisoned. In spite of this, the persecution continued, and Alexander the Patriarch had to fly, but died on his way to the coast, 726 A.D. Moses, Bishop of Wissim (a town in the Delta), accompanied him, but he was seized and a large ransom demanded for his release. Being unable to pay, he was scourged in the sight of his congregation, among whom 300 pieces of gold were hastily collected. The Khaliph dismissed the Emir who had ordered this brutality, and appointed another whose rule was milder. Taking advantage of this change for the better, the Greek or Melkite Church endeavoured to assert itself, and complained to the Khaliph that the National or Coptic Church had appropriated their revenues. This friction between the Christian Churches was settled by the Khaliph desiring that all revenues of churches should be given to the Melkite party. This order could not, of course, be entirely carried out, but many were forcibly handed over. The Patriarchate of the Coptic Church had become vacant by the death of Alexander, and the election of a successor was to take place at Babylon. Moses, the much-respected Bishop of Wissim, was asked to preside at the meeting, but the Alexandrians refused to give up a candidate whom he thought unsuitable, so he seized his staff and drove all present out of the church. Next day he proposed Michael, a monk from the convent of St. Macarius, who succeeded 743 A.D. Very troubled years followed, persecutions were cruel and bitter, and thousands became Moslems. During this time Moses comforted and strengthened his people, and was of great assistance to Michael the Patriarch. As soon as there was a slight lull in the persecutions, Cosmas, the Greek Patriarch, tried to induce Hasan, the Moslem governor, to give him the Church of Mari Mena, with its revenues, which had hitherto belonged to the Coptic Church. The governor requested the disputants each to draw up a

statement of their claims, and gave his verdict in favour of the Copts. In spite of this decision, Michael and Cosmas became afterwards firm friends. In 748 A.D. the old Bishop of Wissim, the Patriarch Michael, and many others, were seized and imprisoned under the persecution of the governor Abd-el-Melek, who had succeeded the more humane Hasan. Cyriacus, king of Nubia, sent an embassy to Abd-el-Melek to demand the release of the Patriarch, but his messenger was thrown into prison. This so enraged the Nubians that they invaded Egypt with an army of 100,000 men. The Christians joined them, and Abd-el-Melek, alarmed, released the prisoners; the Nubian army returning to its own dominions. Abd-el-Melek now strove to increase the taxations of the Christian population, consequently a revolt was organised, headed by the Patriarchs of both Churches. The insurgents marched to Upper Egypt, and were at first so successful that the Khaliph Merwan came in person to oppose them; but the Patriarchs were taken in a skirmish. Cosmas paid a heavy ransom and fled, but Michael remained in Merwan's hands. Meanwhile Merwan was attacked by the Abbasid Khaliph, whose standard the Christians joined; this so exasperated Merwan that he sent for the Patriarch and Bishop Moses, and had them tortured in the face of the opposing army. Their courage never forsook them, and they were ordered back to prison, with the threat that worse should befall them on the morrow. Efforts for their rescue failed, and next day the two men were brought forth. Moses besought Michael to give him absolution, and the Patriarch did so in most touching words, which so affected the son of Merwan that he knelt down before his father, entreating him to spare the lives of the prisoners. Merwan yielded, and once more the bishops went back to prison. Soon after a sharp engagement took place between the rivals for the Moslem Khaliphate, when Merwan was killed, and the first Abbasid Khaliph took possession of the country. The Patriarch and Moses were released, and the Christians had peace for four years. In 751 A.D. it is related by John the Deacon that the Nile had not risen to its usual height of 14 cubits, and that the Patriarch and his clergy held a service of intercessory prayer on the river bank, which was thronged with people. The Nile rose during the night to 16 cubits, and the Moslems, not wishing to be outdone, held a service of prayer next day, to ask for another cubit. To their dismay, the water receded to 14 cubits, where it remained, and the Emir, in despair, asked the Christians to intercede again, and the river rose to 17 cubits. Owing to this miracle, the Christians were left undisturbed.

Michael lived for 11 years longer, and died in 767 A.D. In the time of his successor Menas, another trouble arose regarding the election of a Patriarch, and during a meeting of the Council at Antioch disturbances took place, and the Emir's soldiers seized the bishops, who were sent to work in the docks at Alexandria, where they remained for a year, when a new Emir released them. Menas died in 775 A.D. Subsequently the quarrels over the election of bishops were so frequent and violent, that at last it was determined to decide the question by drawing lots. Very strict rules were drawn up as to the eligibility of candidates for the Patriarchate, and the members having been by votes reduced from 100 to 3, the name of each was written on a piece of parchment, while a fourth bore the name of "Jesus, Son of God." These were placed in an urn underneath the altar, and a solemn service having been held, a child was directed to take out one of the parchment scrolls. If the paper contained the name of one of the candidates, he was accepted; but if the name of "Jesus" appeared, it was supposed that none were pleasing to Him, and therefore others were nominated, and this ceremony, called the "Heikeliet," was repeated.

John IV. was the first Patriarch thus elected by vote, 776 A.D., and his rule lasted 23 years.

The controversy regarding the worship of images, which ended in the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, was at this time agitating Christendom. Cosmas the Melkite Patriarch, who died in 776 A.D., disapproved of the practice, which was condemned by him. The Egyptian Church was not much affected by the dispute, as images were not often seen in Coptic churches, but the use of them was henceforth forbidden, although pictures were allowed.

In 799 A.D., John IV. died, and the Copts elected Mark II. The Melkite Patriarch Politian also died. He was a physician, and had cured a slave girl of the household of the Khaliph Harun-er-Rashid. Eustathius, a linen manufacturer, succeeded him. Mark II. was a very liberal-minded man, and settled many disputes among the various Christian sects.

During the troublous times that followed the death of Harun-er-Rashid in 808 A.D., Egypt was invaded by the Arabs of North Africa,[1] and in the fighting that ensued the Church of St. Saviour and much of the city of Alexandria was burnt. The Christians took advantage of these disturbances to endeavour to throw off the Moslem yoke, but this only led to worse hardships. Their churches were destroyed, their

[1] See page 247.

monasteries sacked, their inmates cruelly treated, and Mark fled to the desert. After 5 years' exile he returned to Nitria, where he died of fever 819 A.D. His successor was Jacob, who was condemned to torture by Abd-el-Aziz; but before the sentence could be carried out, Jacob died suddenly.

Denys, who was then Patriarch of Antioch, gives his impressions of Egypt and its clergy at this time, "who," he says, are "religious, humble, and rich in the love of God, but not sufficiently learned in the study of books." He was much interested in the antiquities of Egypt, of which he wrote an account. In spite of the advice of both Patriarchs Jacob and Denys, the Christians continued in revolt, and were driven back to Babylon, which fell after a lengthened siege, the men being killed and the women and children taken for slaves. Their numbers were greatly reduced by massacres and by forced conversion to the Moslem faith. Jacob died in 831 A.D., and was succeeded by Simon. Zacharias, king of Nubia, sent his son George on an embassy to Baghdad to ascertain whether there would be any hope of success if he invaded Egypt; but George returned fully convinced that such an attempt would be useless, because of the enormous power of the Moslems, which was already felt in Nubia, where many had purchased land. The Khaliph el-Motasim conciliated George with many presents and a house at Gizeh, where he stayed for some time conferring with the Patriarch Joseph, who had succeeded Simon, 837 A.D., and who consecrated a small wooden altar for the Nubian prince to carry about with him on his journeys. Joseph seems to have been of a strong, wise, and peaceable nature, and by his tact to have smoothed serious quarrels in Abyssinia and elsewhere. He devoted his life to the good of his clergy, and created new Sees. The Patriarch Joseph died from ill-treatment by the hands of the Emir, 849 A.D. His life was a record of good and charitable deeds, and his death was mourned by all.

At this time the Moslems lost no opportunity of insulting the Christians; the Khaliphs constantly interfered in the affairs of the Church, intimidating the various parties during the elections of the bishops, whom they frequently imprisoned, and only released on the payment of large ransoms, and using many other means to extort money.

Michael II., who was next Patriarch, lived but a few months, and Cosmas II. succeeded him in 851 A.D. Many vexatious regulations were imposed on the Christians by the Khaliph Mutawekkil as to their dress and personal arrangements, and they were compelled to place the figure of an ape, a dog, or a devil over their houses; but the bishops did all they could to

make their people obey these hateful rules cheerfully. Graves were ordered to be on a level with the ground, and no funeral service was permitted, nor any public prayer. Priests were not allowed to purchase wine, and were therefore obliged to make a substitute for use at the Lord's Supper by squeezing raisins in water. Cosmas II. died, and Shenuda I. became Patriarch, 859 A.D. When required to pay an enormous sum to the Khaliph as dues from the Church, he retired to the desert, but, hearing of the sufferings his clergy were enduring in consequence, he returned and paid the sum asked, 4000 pieces of gold. Mustin, who was now Khaliph, 862 A.D., wishing to conciliate the Christians, restored to them their churches, lands, and plate, and Shenuda sent the good news speedily to every bishop. Shenuda was very powerful, and Ibn-Tulun, the great Turkish governor, who became Sultan 868 A.D., grew jealous of him. In 880 A.D. a pretext was found for accusing him of embezzling money which it was pretended should have gone to the Khaliph, and all the clergy were insulted by being paraded through the streets on asses with their faces to the tail, Shenuda himself being imprisoned. He died 881 A.D. The Khaliph at this time being absorbed in political disputes, the Christians were left to build their churches unmolested. On the occasion of the consecration of one to St. Ptolemy in the diocese of Xois (or Sakha), in the Delta, Michael III. the Patriarch, 881 A.D., was so displeased at the irregular way in which the consecration service was conducted by the bishop, that he deposed him. The bishop complained to the Khaliph, and Michael was thrown into prison. A heavy ransom was demanded, and in the end paid by contributions from all his flock. To refund this, Michael originated "pew rents," obliging the monks to give small sums for the use of their seats in church. This was at first unpopular, but was finally agreed to. He also ordered all bishops on their consecration to contribute towards the sum exacted by the Khaliph from the Christians. Notwithstanding all this, he was driven to borrow largely from the Church of Alexandria, guaranteeing repayment by yearly instalments. Michael III. died in 899 A.D., and it was not till 11 years later that Gabriel was elected.

. The Christians, owing to the education they obtained in the monasteries, were superior in learning to the Moslems, and were often employed by them as scribes and physicians, and held many posts where skill and learning were required. A Christian architect was employed by Ibn-Tulun, and he delighted in discoursing with a learned Copt. The similarity of the beautiful work found in the mosques to that seen in the Coptic churches

shows how much Christian artists were encouraged by the Arabs. These churches, which abounded throughout the country, were simple basilica-formed buildings with waggon-vaulted aisles, the entire building surmounted with one or more domes; the plain exteriors giving little promise of the wealth of ornament found within. In their structure the early Irish churches have many points in resemblance with these Coptic buildings, and seem to suggest the possibility that these pioneers of Western Christendom were indebted to the Christians of Egypt for their first knowledge of the Gospel.

The Churches of Abyssinia and Egypt had but little communication with each other, and the former seems to have been under the control of its own king; but in 921 A.D. a request came from the Abyssinians to the Alexandrian Patriarch, Cosmas II., who had succeeded Gabriel in 921 A.D., to send them a bishop. Peter, a worthy man, was selected, and acted as regent to the two young princes of that country; but in the disputes which followed their coming of age, Peter was banished by the machinations of a monk called Menas, who, declaring Peter was an impostor, got himself made Bishop in his place.

Cosmas' successor was Macarius, who became Patriarch in 933 A.D. Eutychus the historian lived at this time. He was a native of Cairo, was the author of several works, of which one on Alexandrian history is the best known. He became Patriarch of the Greek or Melkite Church, and is the last Patriarch of that Church of whom any clear record remains.

The Emir el-Ikhshīd had twice destroyed the Melkite Church in Tanis, and each time money had been raised for its restoration, which was the more praiseworthy as the Greek Church had reached the lowest depths of poverty. On the death of Macarius in 953 A.D., Theophanes was elected Patriarch, and the yearly fees of 1000 pieces of gold that had to be paid to the Church of Alexandria pressed heavily on the Coptic Church, and caused many waverers to secede. Whether these difficulties unhinged the mind of the Patriarch, or whether he lost his reason from other causes, is not known, but he died insane in 956 A.D., and Menas II. succeeded him. Thousands of Christians died from the famine and sickness which swept over Egypt in 963 A.D., and the same year, el-Aziz, the son of the Fatimid conqueror Moizz, became Khaliph. The Fatimids, being unorthodox Moslems themselves, showed more toleration to the Christians, who under these Khaliphs were, on the whole, better treated than at any other period, and even one or two interesting instances of the conversion of Moslem officials to Christianity recorded.

In 975 A.D. the Patriarch died, and after him came Ephraim, a Syrian merchant who was elected by the bishops. He upheld the moral discipline of the Church, and through the influence of the wife of el-Aziz, who was a Christian, restored the Church of St. Mercurius, outside Fustât. He was poisoned by a Moslem whom he had offended, and Philotheus succeeded to the Patriarchate in 980 A.D. Severus, Bishop of Hermopolis, was consecrated at this time, and began his Historical Chronicle, as well as writing other works, some of which are still extant.

The Abyssinians again appealed, in a touching letter that was forwarded to the Patriarch Philotheus, complaining of the neglect of their Church, which had been left through six Patriarchates without a head. Philotheus in response consecrated a monk called Daniel, and sent him to Abyssinia, where he was gladly received, and succeeded in establishing order. The old Patriarch died suddenly while celebrating the Holy Communion in 1004, and Zacharias was appointed in his stead.

The new Sultan Hakim refrained from troubling the Christians as long as his mother, who belonged to that faith, lived; but as soon as she died he began the most cruel persecutions. Churches were destroyed and pillaged, and Christians were given the alternative of becoming Moslems or leaving the country; if they remained in it, they were forced to wear a heavy wooden cross weighing about five pounds, and were forbidden to keep horses, or Moslem servants, or to be carried in Moslem boats, or to wear any colour except black. The Patriarch was imprisoned, and threatened with awful tortures unless he renounced his religion. It is related by both Moslem and Christian writers how he was even cast into a den of lions, but that they left him unharmed. He was kept in prison for 9 years. At length, in 1021, Hakim, through the intervention of a monk called Yemin, who had gained great influence over him, ordered the persecution to cease. The Patriarch Zacharias was then permitted to escape to the Nitrian Desert, churches were rebuilt, and Christians allowed to live unmolested. Zacharias lived on for 12 years, dying in 1032, and being succeeded by Shenuda II., who was avaricious and grasping, making money by the sale of Church patronage, and seizing on the personal estates of the bishops at their death. Much dissatisfaction existed, but the Patriarch had a strong position, and held it against all attack until his death in 1047. Christodulos was the next to occupy the Patriarchate, and found plenty of work awaiting him. He consecrated many churches, ordained priests and deacons, and drew up rules for the Monophysite clergy and laity, which are remarkable as being the first canons formulated since the

separation of the Greek and Coptic Churches. Christodulos roused the enmity of Syrians and Moslems alike by refusing to accept from the Khaliph's physician, a Syrian Christian, sacramental bread made with oil and salt, after the fashion of his country. It was during the Patriarchate of Christodulos that the final separation took place between the Eastern and Western Churches.

A great famine occurred in Egypt in 1069, sweeping off thousands of the Copts. Tanis, which was one of the most flourishing of the Christian towns, was entirely depopulated, and never again recovered. Every one, even the Khaliph Mustansir, was reduced to the most terrible straits. After 31 years Christodulos died, and the next Patriarch elected was Cyril II., a monk of the monastery of St. Macarius. He was at first favourably received, but violent disputes arose between him and his bishops concerning the appointment of a monk named Severus to the See of Axum in Abyssinia, which was already occupied. The Wazir Bedr, who had come to the assistance of the Khaliph, and who was an Armenian friendly to the Christians, ordered a Convocation of bishops to assemble, scolded them severely for their conduct, refused to hear the evidence on either side, and desired them to live in peace, and practise, instead of preach, their Christian doctrines. His words took effect, and they all withdrew to the Church of St. Mercurius and celebrated the Holy Communion together. Cyril II. drew up new laws for the Church, and denounced the heresy of Nestorius, and also the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon.

The Armenian Church in Egypt continued to live in peace with the Coptic Church, and its Patriarch Gregory was consecrated by Cyril, who died in 1092. Michael IV. succeeded him, and as long as the Wazir Bedr lived, peace was kept by both Christians and Moslems. This, however, was not destined to last long, as Christendom had been roused by the preaching of the First Crusade to attempt the recovery of Jerusalem, and the bitter feeling between Moslems and Christians was thus intensely aggravated. The victorious Crusaders denounced the Coptic Church of Egypt as heretical, and forbade its members to enter into Jerusalem, thereby losing its support.

The Patriarch was stricken down by the plague in 1102. Macarius II. was elected in his stead, and remained Patriarch more than 20 years. Meanwhile the Crusades continued, and the champions of the Cross were for a time successful. Egypt was left in peace, and but little occurred worthy of record in the history of the Coptic Church. For two years after the death of Macarius in 1129, the Patriarchal chair was vacant, because when

a Council was convened, no one higher in rank than a deacon attended. At last a man of great piety, called Gabriel II., was found. He seems to have been upright and gentle in his rule, only wishing to live his life in peace, and was free from avarice and pride. He was learned, and issued fresh canons to the Coptic Church, some of which were very strict, and forbade priests to join in games or dances, or to have any women inside their houses except those very nearly related to them. Gabriel died in 1146, and Michael V. was elected, but was poisoned at the end of 3 months, and John VI. was nominated in 1147.

The condition of the Church was prosperous and its institutions respected. Discussions arose on questions of ritual. Confession was at one time made publicly in the church; private confession to a priest appointed for the purpose was at first merely voluntary, but latterly came to be regarded as binding. The use of incense meant nothing more than the fumigation of those who attended the services, as a safeguard against infectious diseases and bad air; the benediction said over it being, "May the Lord bless this incense to the extinction of every noxious stench, and kindle it to the odour of its sweetness."[1] The idea, however, that the smoke of the incense carried prayers up to heaven became popular; but this was fiercely rebuked by a priest named Mark ibn Kundar. Factions ran high, until at last sentence of excommunication was pronounced by John against Mark. Just then John the Patriarch died, and Mark ibn Zaara succeeded in 1164. He reconciled the contending parties for a time, recalling the fiery Mark and restoring him to his duties; but the latter would not keep quiet, and soon recommenced his disputations. Finding the Patriarch firm, he seceded to the Greek Church, and afterwards wishing to return to his own, was refused re-admission by the Patriarch.

In 1173 an expedition into Nubia was sent by Saladin, under his brother Turanshah, who took the city of Ibrim, and he destroyed the many monasteries in the country of Aswân.

Meantime the Moslem wars ended in the destruction of the last remnant of the Fatimid Dynasty. The attack of the Crusaders on Alexandria, followed by the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, 1187, and the establishment in Egypt by him of the Ayyubid Sultans, formed an exciting period in contemporary history. The Christians under the Fatimid rule had lived in greater security, and had been allowed to rebuild their churches and consecrate their clergy in peace. Many of them had enjoyed the favour of the Khaliphs and had occupied important offices

[1] Butcher, *History of the Church in Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 84.

of State, so that the troubles of the Patriarchs arose more from dissensions within the Church than from persecutions without.

In 1189, Mark died, and was succeeded by John VI., who appears to have conducted the affairs of the Church with moderation and wisdom, and was much respected. After Saladin's death in 1192, the troubled state of Egypt was aggravated by famine and pestilence, and in 1218 the Crusaders invaded the country and took Damietta. Their first act was to appoint a Latin bishop, setting aside those of the Coptic and Greek Churches; this appointment was the cause of much discontent. During this time, St. Francis d'Assisi, who had joined the Crusade, made his way, accompanied only by a few monks, to the camp of the Sultan Kamil. They were taken prisoners, but the Sultan, admiring their courage, allowed St. Francis to preach to the Moslems. He fearlessly exhorted them to become Christians, but without producing any effect. Kamil then generously gave him his liberty.

On the death of John VI. in 1216, a man called David, who had great interest in high places, endeavoured to gain the Patriarchal chair; but he was very much disliked by the Egyptians, who refused to nominate him. He appealed to the Sultan Adil, who issued a mandate ordering his consecration; but the indignation of the people was so great that the ceremony was postponed, until at last, in 1235, nearly 20 years later, a few unwilling bishops were forced to perform the consecration service, and David was made Patriarch under the name of Cyril III. He was tyrannical and avaricious, seizing upon property and extorting money in every way he could think of, and only held his position by bribing the Moslems. His bishops insisted on a Synod being called, at which they presented a document to Cyril, containing Articles for the Reformation of the Church. He refused to sign at first, but in the end was obliged to do so, as the bishops threatened to resign if he did not. He had continued disputes with his clergy, and in 1241 the bishops tried to depose him. This was found impracticable, but his death in 1243 saved further trouble. The result of Cyril's Patriarchate was such disunion that no successor could be elected for 8 years, and Athanasius III. (1250) had a hard task to restore anything like order. In the interval each bishop had managed his own diocese as well as he could. During the time of Athanasius, King Louis of France landed at Damietta with the Seventh Crusade in 1249, thinking that his best way of reaching the Holy Land would be through Egypt. The Christians were defeated, but Sheger-ed-Durr,[1] the wife of the Khaliph, by her

[1] See page 348.

influence prevented their massacre. The failure of the expedition was a great blow to the Crusaders. The Patriarch Athanasius died in 1262, and two candidates presented themselves, John and Gabriel. The question was decided by drawing lots according to the old custom called the "Heikeliet," and Gabriel was chosen; but John, through intrigue, got himself elected for a short time, after which Gabriel was again chosen and consecrated, in 1269. Two years later, he was in his turn deposed, John VII. was re-elected, and soon after Gabriel III. died. A deputation was despatched from the king of Abyssinia to John, to ask him to send a bishop for their Church. They wished to have one from Egypt, as they considered themselves belonging to the Patriarchate of Alexandria, from which they had been alienated to the Syrian Church for a time. Their request was granted, and Kilus, Bishop of Fukh, was appointed to the See of Axum. The Patriarch's favourable reply was received with great respect; the king and all the provincial governors assembled in the Cathedral while the Patriarchal letter was read.

Meanwhile Christianity suffered a severe blow by the reduction in 1275 of the kingdom of Nubia by Beybars, the king's subjects being compelled to submit to taxation, apostasy, or death. From this time Nubia became a mere vassal state of Egypt, and the light of Christianity was with difficulty kept burning.

John VII. died in 1294, and Theodosius, supposed to be a descendant of one of the French Crusaders, was chosen. During his Patriarchate, which lasted 6 years, there was peace for the Church. John VIII. succeeded in 1300, and the Christians became too confident, and disregarded the laws under which they had been compelled to live by the Moslems, and which were still in force; these rules were now made even more stringent, in consequence of a Christian of some importance parading the streets on horseback, wearing forbidden garments. The Patriarch did his utmost to induce the people to submit quietly, but in spite of his efforts Christians were cruelly persecuted for three years, until, through the intervention of James III., king of Aragon, a hollow peace was made under the Sultan Nasir, which lasted till 1320. During that year an organised rising against the Christians took place. Once more the active hatred that had lain dormant for a while was roused. The mob ravaged the churches all over Egypt, and a fearful time of massacre and destruction began, in the midst of which the Patriarch died, 1321, and another, John IX., succeeded. Shortly after his accession, some enraged monks, in revenge for the Moslem outrages, plotted to destroy Cairo by fire. Terrible scenes followed, and in spite of the Sultan's efforts to extinguish the flames, a fierce wind

spread the blaze. At last the conspirators were discovered, and so fresh fires were prevented; but the damage already done was fearful. The Sultan Nasir ordered the punishment of both the guilty monks and the Moslem rioters, and this impartial course of action on the part of the Sultan brought about a more tolerant spirit towards the Christians, although the laws regulating their conduct were still rigidly enforced.

A second remonstrance in favour of the Christians which came from Constantinople and Spain, helped to secure a temporary lull in their persecution. John IX. died in 1327, and Benjamin II. was elected to the Patriarchate; little of interest is recorded in the history of the Church, except that another outbreak of persecution in that year had been speedily suppressed. Benjamin died in 1340, and Peter V., his successor, in 1348. After him Mark IV. was elected, and the first year of his Patriarchate was made memorable by a fearful visitation of the plague. The Patriarch died in 1363, and John X. succeeded and held the Patriarchal See till he died in 1371. The constant outbreaks against the Christians were often caused by jealousy and greed. Large sums were taken from them for various objects, among which was the building of a great fleet.

Gabriel IV. was elected in 1371, and held the See till his death in 1375. After him came Matthew, who aroused a fanatical enthusiasm in the Church, but this zeal was carried too far. In 1389 a vast concourse of people, who had accepted the Moslem creed for a time to escape persecution, rushed through the streets of Cairo declaring that they had returned to the true faith. A terrible fate, however, awaited them, as they were all beheaded, and their Patriarch Matthew was only released from prison on payment of an extortionate ransom.

The Emir Barkuk had in 1382 become all-powerful in Egypt. His father was a Circassian Christian, and although himself a Moslem, was inclined to befriend the Copts. He allowed them to live in peace, and sternly repressed any outbreak of Moslem fanaticism against them. Matthew died in 1409, and Gabriel V. succeeded. He was a wise man and full of learning, as is shown by his Treatise on the Offices of the Coptic Church. He was arrested and imprisoned by Sheikh el-Mahmoud, who renewed the hard laws against the Copts, and tried to oust all Christians from Government offices. Gabriel was soon released, and remained quietly at his post till he died in 1427. One of the chief authorities for the history of this time is Makrizi, who, although a Moslem, gives much information respecting the condition of the Christians.

John XI. was the next Patriarch, and it was during his

tenure of the See that an attempt was made to reunite the Eastern and Western Churches, a delegate being sent by John to attend the Council of Florence. The Council of Basle, which assembled shortly after, in 1431, sat for 12 years to try to achieve the same end, but no practical result seems to have followed. John died in 1453, and Matthew II. succeeded him. The great event of his time was the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, the 29th May 1453, when the Greek Church of St. Sophia became a mosque.

So ended the Eastern Empire with the death of Constantine XIII. Paleologus, its last Christian ruler. Matthew died in 1466, and Gabriel VI. succeeded him. During the reign of Kait Bey, Christians were employed as architects and in other ways; but they were severely taxed, and in common with the rest of the people had to pay for the beautiful buildings with which he was adorning his capital, as well as for the successful wars which were carried on by this courageous and energetic Sultan. Gabriel died in 1475, and Michael VI. was his successor. He lived for 6 years, and after him came John XII., 1481. An outbreak occurred against the Christians soon after John's accession, and the monks of St. Anthony and St. Paul, whose monasteries were in the desert, were massacred, and their libraries, unfortunately for later historians, were burnt. During John's time Cairo was taken by Selim I., the Turkish Sultan, in 1517; the Mamluk dominion ended, and the Ottoman power began; the change, however, did not bring brighter days to the oppressed Christians. Most of their skilled workmen were sent to Constantinople by Selim to embellish that city with their beautiful rich architecture, carvings, and exquisite designs in mosaic.

John XII. was succeeded by John XIII. in 1521, and in 1526 by Gabriel VII. He held the See for 43 years, but there is no record of any special event in the history of the Church. Taxation was even more burdensome, owing to the tribute that had to be paid yearly to the Sultan at Constantinople, and every penny was exacted from the Christian population that could be squeezed out. The Christians of Nubia and the Sudan fared even worse; these kingdoms were practically wiped out and the inhabitants reduced to a state of slavery. In Abyssinia, efforts were being made by the Portuguese missionaries to convert the Church there to Roman Catholicism, but the people held firm to their allegiance to the See of Alexandria. About the same time the Pope, Gregory XIII., sent a special embassy to Egypt to try to induce the Church there to acknowledge him as their head; but Gabriel insisted on the liberty of his own Church, and refused to listen to any suggestion that tended

to infringe it. Gabriel died 1569, and John XIV. succeeded him. The Pope renewed his efforts, and John summoned his bishops to meet the Legates. Their proposals were favourably received, and terms were drawn up for signature; but the Patriarch died suddenly before they were signed. The Pope's emissaries were imprisoned, but the Copts paid a sum of money for their release, which the Pope afterwards refunded.

Gabriel VIII., who succeeded John XIV., died of the plague in 1602, and Mark V. was his successor. The Popes of Rome continued to make overtures to the Church of Egypt, and Sixtus V. renewed the proposals made by his predecessor; but the Coptic Church steadfastly maintained its independence. Cyril Lucar was at this time the Greek Patriarch. It is only by very occasional glimpses that anything of the Greek Church or its Patriarchs is known, and apparently there was no intercourse between them and the National Church. This is shown by a letter written by Cyril to a Calvinist minister at The Hague, in which he classes the Copts with other inferior sects, and describes their manners and customs as "filthy and barbarous," and "whose mode of worship is unsightly, and their ceremonies worse than brutish."[1]

Cyril had travelled in Europe, even as far as England, and seems to have been much impressed by the reformed doctrines then spreading in the West.

Mark severely reprimanded and excommunicated one of his bishops who preached polygamy. The bishop denounced him to the Moslem governor, and Mark was seized and beaten to death in 1618. The next Patriarch elected was John XV. The power of the Jesuits was beginning to cause serious anxiety in the National Church at this time, especially in Abyssinia. John died in 1629.

Meantime the Greek Patriarch Cyril Lucar, on account of his Calvinistic tendencies, lost much prestige in Egypt; he was removed to the See of Constantinople, but after two years he was banished to Rhodes by the Jesuits. The English Ambassador, Sir Thomas Rowe, interceded for him, and he was allowed to return; but was eventually strangled in 1638. The Codex Alexandrinus, now in the British Museum, was sent by him to Charles I. About this time a large silk-weaving community, principally Christians, flourished in Egypt.

In 1629, Matthew III. succeeded John XV. It is recorded that 600 Christian prisoners, during the launching of a vessel in Alexandria, seized this chance of making good their escape from the country.

[1] Neal's *History of the Eastern Church*, vol. ii.

The Patriarchs between 1646 and 1676, Mark VI., Matthew IV., and John XVI., followed each other in quick succession. Their rule was marked by a sad record of persecution, famine, and pestilence. The Patriarch John set to work with energy to try to revive the spirit of the Church. He insisted on the strict observance of religious duties, and filled his office with zeal and integrity for more than 40 years. Father Wansleb, a Dominican missionary, visited Egypt, and compiled a book in which he explained the differences between the Church of Egypt and the Church of Rome. He stated that there were 14 Sees under the Alexandrian Patriarch, and wrote a dissertation on the Coptic language, which was falling into disuse. Abu Dakn, a Coptic Christian of Memphis, also published a work on the Christians in Egypt, which has been translated into Latin and English.

In 1692, M. de Maillet, the French Consul-General, used his influence to convert Coptic children to the Romish Church. He also handed down a good description of the country in those days, with a full account of its convents and monasteries and churches. There were 9 Roman Catholic stations in Egypt, the farthest south being at Derr, in Nubia. During John's time much excitement was caused in Cairo by a Turkish preacher who incited the people by his fanatical eloquence to make disturbances in the city.

In 1718, Peter VI. succeeded. Next came John XVII., in 1727. During his Patriarchate, Pope Clement XII. once more made overtures endeavouring to gain the allegiance of the Church in Egypt, and a cardinal was sent specially on this mission; but John haughtily resisted his appeal, refusing to give up his independence. Pope Benedict XIV. appointed in 1741 a Roman Catholic bishop at Jerusalem, who had jurisdiction as well over the Catholics of Egypt. Dr. Pococke, Bishop of Meath, procured much information from these missions: his notes on the Copts and their churches and descriptions of Cairo are very interesting.[1] John XVII. died in 1745. Mark VII. followed. An attempt was made by the Copts to arrange a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but the Moslems frustrated the plan, robbing and scattering the band of pilgrims.

A reign of terror began for the Christians when Ali Bey became Emir; the heart-rending scenes recorded are almost beyond belief. When Bruce the traveller visited Egypt in 1768, Mark gave him letters to carry to Abyssinia which greatly assisted him on his journey. Mark died in 1770, and

[1] *Description of the East and Other Countries*, vol. i., Richard Pococke, LL.D., F.R.S., 1743.

John XVIII. succeeded him. The continuance of civil war among the Moslems for many years did not improve the condition of the Christians, who were again victims of over-taxation, plunder, and oppression, and John died heart-broken and dispirited in 1797. Mark VIII. took his place, and soon after Napoleon landed at Alexandria. This Patriarch Mark lived long enough to see first the French and then the English occupation, and the final restoration of the Turkish rule under Mohammed Ali. He died in 1809, and Peter VII. followed. In his time the Rev. Henry Tattam travelled in Egypt to inquire into the condition of the Christians there, and wrote his impressions to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1839. His description of their state is very sad, but he hoped for happier days, when the Church would rise to a higher spiritual position. Peter died in 1854, and Cyril IV., called "The Reformer," succeeded to the Patriarchate. Under him the Church revived, and the number of its members increased. Cyril did his best to promote good feeling between his own Church and the Greek and Anglican communities with regard to the two natures of our Lord; but the Moslems grew jealous of his influence, and in 1861 he was poisoned.

The Viceroy, Said Pasha, was not inclined to befriend the Copts, being more disposed to suppress than to encourage them; and after the murder of their Patriarch many were dismissed who had occupied offices under Government. It was, however, found necessary to reinstate them, as the Turks had not the same learning or capacity for business. On the death of Cyril IV., Demetrius II. succeeded; he was a good Patriarch, and the Church benefited by his wise and just rule. He died in 1873. After his death two Councils were established, one of the clergy and one of laymen, to deal with the spiritual and temporal affairs of the Church, and to whose rules the new Patriarch was required to subscribe before his election. These Councils worked well for two years under the care of the Bishop of Alexandria, at the end of which time Cyril V., the present Patriarch, the 112th successor of St. Mark, was elected, and founded a Theological College, under Philotheus, Dean of St. Mark's Cathedral. After a time Cyril refused to recognise the regulations proposed by the Council of laymen, and in consequence that body ceased to exist, and a reform party, called the "Tewfik," or pioneer, was established. They tried to reconcile some of the doctrines of the Coptic and Greek Churches, and a serious quarrel took place; Athanasius, Bishop of Sanahan, joining the Tewfikish party. Finally they obliged Abbas to excommunicate Cyril to Nitria. He was soon recalled, but for some time refused to return. When, however, he did so, he was received with great

acclamations of joy from all classes, Moslems as well as Copts, and if he had followed up this welcome by reconciliation it would have been better policy; as it was, it took some time to calm all factions; but now a spirit of concord exists between the Greek, the Coptic, and the Anglican Churches which would in former days have been thought impossible.

The Theological College has been re-opened, and excellent schools established for both boys and girls. The Coptic Church has its Patriarch, bishops, arch-priests, deacons, and monks. The Patriarch is chosen from among the monks of St. Anthony (Deir Antoniyos), and must be a celibate. There are 12 bishops and many arch-priests. A priest must be without blemish, and if married, the husband of one wife. He cannot marry after entering the priesthood, and he must be at least 33 years old. He is supported by voluntary contributions, or by his own industry. A deacon must not marry after he has become deacon. Monks usually begin their religious life with hardships and doing menial services; they may not marry, and must spend all their substance in contributing to the general good of the community. After his novitiate the monk is received into the order. The Prayers for the Dead are said over him, and the world is renounced. The Coptic churches are of basilica form, a simple oblong room divided into four sections: the chancel, containing the altar, which is concealed by a curtain; the portion called the "Heikal" (or sanctuary), set apart for the priests who read the Lessons, which is generally separated from the next compartment by a screen of lattice-work; the division for the male congregation; and, fourthly, the women's portion, which is also completely screened. The screens of the Heikal are often of great antiquity and beauty, sometimes carved or inlaid with ivory, and at others covered with paintings. Shoes are left at the door, and all the congregation make a reverence to the altar after kissing the hem of the curtain which is before it. Nearly every man takes a stick or crutch upon which to rest, as the long service is very fatiguing, and he has to stand nearly all the time. The officiating priests wear handsome vestments, consisting of the alb, the cuffs, the stole, the chasuble open in the front, the girdle, and the amice, which is a long piece of cloth arranged over the head so as to fall behind and before; during the service the people are blessed, and censers with incense are carried and swung among the congregation. Three liturgies are used in the Coptic Church: those of Basil, Archbishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, St. Gregory, and St. Cyril. That of Basil is in common use. An English translation by Mr. Brightman will be found in *Liturgies Eastern and*

Western; and there is a translation of the Uniate form by the Marquis of Bute. The others are used only on certain days. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is frequently celebrated. The chalice is kept in an ark, and a fan for keeping the flies from it is often made of silver. The bread is in the form of small round cakes, called "Korban," about three inches in diameter and half an inch thick, and all bear the impression of a small Coptic cross in the centre. This bread is brought to the church and distributed by the priests to the people, before it is consecrated; they may either eat it there or take it away with them. The consecrated bread is moistened with the wine, which is still occasionally made from raisins crushed in water. At the time of celebration each communicant receives a small piece of the bread while standing outside the altar. The wine is administered in a spoon. The women wait inside their screen, in which there is a little door to which the priest brings the elements and gives them to each applicant in turn. The Real Presence is believed in, both in bread and wine. Before partaking of the Holy Communion, confession is absolutely indispensable, and penances are imposed and absolution given by the arch-priest. Baptism is enjoined at the end of 40 days for a boy, and 80 for a girl, if healthy; if otherwise, sooner. The child is dipped three times in water, in which a little holy oil has been mixed. Immediately after baptism the Holy Communion is given to the infant, the priest dipping his finger in the wine and then touching its lips. Sometimes the child is given milk and honey mixed, as a symbol of admission to the Promised Land. There are no organs in the churches, the music consisting of small brass bells and triangles. No images are allowed, but paintings are common. No cross is placed on the altar, which is small, and 4 lights are in use. The kiss of peace forms part of the service.

The domestic habits of the Copts differ little from those of the Moslems, but their marriage ceremonies are very unlike those of their polygamist compatriots. There are two religious services, the "Betrothal" and the "Coronation." The first consists of an exchange of rings, which are blessed by the priest in the presence of both parties. This ceremony usually takes place at the house of a relation on a Saturday evening, when the bridegroom also gives his bride a small gold cross. On Sunday the "Coronation" takes place in the church. The bride and bridegroom sit on two arm-chairs; the latter wears a rich white silk cope which belongs to the church, the bride is attired in a white dress with a white veil, and the priest throws over them a large veil of white silk or linen, symbolical

of purity. Prayers are then offered, and both are anointed with holy oil. The priest places a crown on each of their heads with the words: "With glory and honour the Father has crowned them; the Son blesses them; the Holy Ghost crowns them, comes down upon them, and perfects them." After this they stand with crossed arms at the door of the sanctuary, and the priest lays the golden cross upon them and pronounces the absolution. The crowns belong to the church and are taken off before leaving it, and the Holy Communion is sometimes, but not always, administered at the close of the service.

When any one is very sick, he is brought to the church and anointed with holy oil, and prayers for his recovery are said. If he is too ill to come, a proxy is found, and the same form is observed.

The funeral services are held in the church, but the customs of wailing and fasting as soon as death takes place resemble those of the Moslems. After the service, the procession forms, headed by the sexton carrying a large cross of silver; and, followed by the choir boys and priests, the bier and the mourners proceed to the cemetery. In the early Coptic burial-grounds of Upper Egypt the bodies are often found in terra-cotta coffins, and clothed in robes frequently beautifully embroidered and of very fine texture. Now the service is more simple, and Copts are buried in ordinary wooden coffins.

The Copts fast long and strictly, Lent continuing 55 days, when no animal food is allowed, and prayers are said every day in the churches. They also observe the "Fast of the Nativity," that of the "Virgin and of the Apostles," besides abstaining every Wednesday and Friday throughout the year. A festival follows each fast, when new clothes are worn and alms distributed.

The Coptic language is now only used in the prayers, and although the Lessons are read in it at the services, they are explained in Arabic. Part of the canons are still read in Greek. Prayers 7 times a day are enjoined, and the most strict among the Copts recite one or more of the Psalms of David each time they pray. They always wash their hands and faces before devotions, and turn to the East.

The modern Copts differ little in personal appearance from their Moslem brethren, having the same complexions, generally with straight noses and black curly hair. Their dress is usually a black cotton gown over their shirts, with a turban of black or blue, which they have been compelled to wear for many centuries. When visiting the towns they are careful not to wear white turbans, so that they may be distinguished from the

Moslems. But these distinctions are gradually dying out, through the effects of modern intercourse; the tarbûsh, or Turkish fez, being the head-dress most commonly adopted. The Coptic women veil their faces, and keep themselves secluded like Mohammedans.

It is considered right to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and a caravan starts for the Holy City in time for Passion Week and Easter, after which the pilgrims go to the Jordan to bathe. The Copts dislike the flesh of swine, but will eat wild boar and other animals, except camel, which is unlawful. There is a curious custom of hanging ostrich eggs in the Coptic churches as a symbol of the Resurrection, and this seems to date from very early times.

The Coptic is the only one among the group of Eastern Churches which can show an unbroken chain of Patriarchs from St. Mark to the present day, and though the early ones are still considered traditional, their names appear and their doings are recorded by very early writers. Every year fresh proofs come to light of the authenticity of these writings, through the reading of papyri and other means, and very possibly before long all doubt may be at an end regarding these founders of the Christian Church.

The existence of the Coptic Church is a striking proof of the power of Christianity to triumph over difficulties, for, in spite of centuries of cruel oppression, a remnant never wavered from the Faith to which it clings to this day. The new form of government in Egypt has greatly strengthened the Coptic Church, which now numbers 846 clergy and possesses 467 churches. The cathedrals of Cairo and Alexandria are modern buildings, and are not of architectural interest, but many ancient churches remain in and about Cairo; that of Mari Mena, dating from the fourth century, and restored by the Patriarch Theodore in the fifth century, is probably the oldest. There are remains of Coptic churches throughout the country, some most interesting ones having been found to the south in Nubia and Dongola, and even as far as the Blue Nile and Sobat River. A full and detailed account of these churches may be found in *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, by Butler.

Although traditions exist of the introduction of Christianity into Abyssinia in the time of the Apostles, there is no reliable record until the fourth century, when Frumentius was appointed Bishop by the Patriarch Athanasius, about 330 A.D. Long gaps occur in the history of the Abyssinian Church, but their bishops have always been consecrated by the Coptic Patriarchs, and their doctrines are the same as those of that Church. There

are 9 liturgies, of which the one commonly used is called the "Liturgy of All Apostles." Some of their rites and ceremonies are curious and barbaric, and do not accord with the usual forms of Christian faith and ideas.

The Uniate Churches in Egypt are the result of a movement started by Sigismund, king of Poland, in 1595, to unite the Greek and Roman Churches under the Pope Clement VIII., by means of the "Unia," which contained a compromise between their various doctrines. This was not successful, although there are still a few Greek and Coptic Uniates in Egypt, with their Patriarchs, priests, and churches. The Maronite Christians are another branch, and so is the Armenian Uniate Church, but the members of these sects are few in number.

There exists a large body of Roman Catholics in Egypt. They have a resident Archbishop in Alexandria, and several important churches. In Cairo the number is still larger, and they have missions in many districts far up the Nile. The Roman Catholics have caused the Gospels and some portions of the Scriptures to be printed in Coptic for circulation throughout the country.

Comparatively little is known of the Greek Patriarchs after the separation of the Greek and Coptic Churches in 451 A.D. There is a long list of names, but much uncertainty as to their dates and the duration of their rule. There has never been much cordiality between the Churches until recently, but Phocius, the present Greek Patriarch, is on most friendly terms with Cyril V., the Coptic Patriarch, and owing to their earnest endeavours both Churches are working together for the good of their country, and both are anxious to cultivate the goodwill of other Christian communities. The American Presbyterian Mission has, since its foundation in 1854, done good work in Egypt, and has "stations" along the Nile at several places, where schools are established and services held.

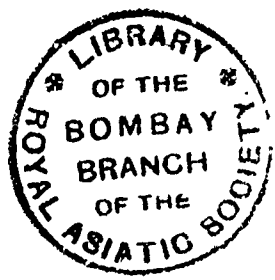
The earliest Anglican Mission was sent in 1815 by the Church Missionary Society, when the Rev. W. Jowett made a report on the Coptic Church. He paid several subsequent visits, and in 1825 five other missionaries began good work by inspecting the Coptic schools and distributing portions of the Scriptures in Arabic. The Rev. J. Lieder held services in a small room in Cairo for 40 years, till he died in 1865.[1]

The church in Alexandria was not finished till 1855, having taken 15 years to build; the church in Cairo, begun in 1873, was consecrated in 1876 by Gobat, Bishop of Jerusalem, and is

[1] During his long residence he had collected many interesting Egyptian antiquities, which formed the nucleus of the Amherst Collection.

now not nearly large enough for the congregation. At Port Said a church was opened in 1889, at Ramla 1891, and at Aswân the foundation of a church, designed by Mr. Somers Clarke in Oriental architecture, was laid by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught in 1899, and opened for service in 1900. A pretty white marble font, the gift of Queen Victoria, was placed ready for use on Christmas Day 1901; the wood-carving was executed by the School of Art in Cairo. A church is now opened at Khartûm, and on the occasion of the funeral service for our late beloved Queen it was crowded by many natives, mingling in a touching way their grief with that of the Europeans.

Egypt is at present under the Episcopate of the Bishop of Jerusalem; this diocese is of so great an extent that it is impossible that the whole can have much of his personal supervision, therefore it has been strongly urged that an Egyptian See should be established, which will not only lighten the burden of the Bishop of Jerusalem, but add greatly to the exalted position of the English Church in Egypt.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GRAIN BOATS ON THE NILE AT SUNSET

CHAPTER XV

THE ISRAELITES IN EGYPT

"'Where now,' she sang, 'the tall Egyptian spear?
On's sunlike shield, and Zoan's chariot, where?
Above their ranks the 'whelming waters spread.
Shout, Israel, for the Lord hath triumphed.'"
HEBER: *Passage of the Red Sea.*

IT has been a disappointment to those who search for some history of the Children of Israel in Egypt, that up to this time so little has been discovered on the monuments, even indirectly, relating to their sojourn there. The first reference to the intercourse between the Israelites and the Egyptians is given in the 11th chapter of Genesis, where we read how Abram, with his father Terah, his mother Milcah, his wife Sarai, and his nephew Lot, left the land of his nativity, Ur of the Chaldees, generally identified with Mugheir, 140 miles south-east of Babylon. Urza, or Edessa, has also been claimed as the birthplace of Abram, and many Jewish traditions centre round it. Abram then journeyed north-west to Haran, or "The Road," where he sojourned till after his father's death, going through the land of the Hittites, whose principal cities were Charchemish (Jerublus) and Kadesh, near Emesa (Hims). Being directed thereto by God, the patriarch went south to Canaan, and after the blessing and promises given by the Lord in Bethel—"The House of God"—he went on to Egypt to buy corn, for there was a "grievous famine in the land." Abram and Sarai came to the court of Pharaoh at Zoan, where they were received as became their station, Abram evidently being a person of importance in his own country, as the usually accepted meaning of his name is "Exalted Father,"[1] that of Milcah "Queen," and Sarai "Princess," *sar* being the Hebrew and Assyrian for "prince" or "king." The date of Abram's arrival in Egypt is not accurately known, but the one usually accepted is 1900 or 2000 B.C. It is equally a matter of doubt which Pharaoh was

[1] Sayce, *The Bible and the Monuments.*

reigning at the time, but it must have been one of the early Hyksos kings, their conquest of Egypt having taken place about 2550 B.C., and their capital fixed at Zoan. As this city was not far from the border, it was easy for Abram and Sarai to visit the king, and as they spoke a Semitic tongue, they probably understood the language of the Hyksos, who also came from the east, not improbably from a country adjoining that of the Hittites. A branch of this race went to the south near Hebron, where another city called Kadesh exists; this is near the country of the Edomites, who are thought to be Hyksos. We read of the beauty of Sarai, and how Abram, fearing the king should kill him in order to make her his wife, said she was his sister. This was a fact, as she was his half-sister. Among princes this was no uncommon relationship for a wife in early times. How long they remained in Egypt is not stated, but when they left, Abram was presented with costly gifts, and he "was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold."[1] On reaching the plain of Jordan, Lot and Abram separated, the former to remain in the east, near Sodom and Gomorrah, the latter to move northward to Mamre, in Hebron.

In the 14th chapter of Genesis an account is given of the battle of the kings, which took place in the vale of Siddim, and according to the light thrown on this period by recent discoveries of Babylonian records, several of their names have been identified. It is practically certain that Amraphel king of Shinar, or Babylon, was no other than Hammurabi (2250 B.C.). Arioch king of Ellasar is certainly Eri-aku; one of his contemporaries who reigned at Larsa also bears the name of Rim-sin. Tidal king of nations is recognised in the Tudhula of the cuneiform inscriptions. These three, joined with Chedorlaomer king of Elam, fought against five other kings, the identification of some of whose names has been explained by Pinches.[2]

In what year of the reign of Hammurabi the battle of the kings took place is not known, but it is related that Lot was taken prisoner by Chedorlaomer, and on hearing this Abram armed his 318 servants and pursued them as far as Damascus, where he rescued Lot, and returned with all his retinue to Hebron. Returning from this conquest, he was welcomed by Melchizedek king of Salem, to whom he gave presents and paid tribute. That Melchizedek was one of a line of priest-kings ruling in Jerusalem, has now been determined by the discovery among the Tell-el-Amarna tablets of a letter from a

[1] Genesis xiii. 2.

[2] *The Old Testament in the light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, Theophilus Pinches, LL.D.

certain Ebed-Tob, who was another later king of Uru-Salem, and who, like Melchizedek, is described as having no royal father or mother, showing that they both reigned by spiritual right and not by hereditary succession.

Hagar, the handmaid of Sarai, was an Egyptian, and was evidently on her way back to her native country, after her expulsion from Abraham's household, when her life, and that of her son Ishmael, was saved by her finding a spring of living water in the wilderness of Shur, or Paran. Here Ishmael lived for many years as a famous archer, and he married an Egyptian wife.

The next mention we have of the Israelites in Egypt is when Joseph was sold by his brethren for 20 pieces of silver to the Midianitish merchants, who took him to Egypt and sold him to Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's guard. The story of Joseph as told in the Bible is the only account yet known of his residence in that country. An Arab tradition exists mentioning that Joseph came to Egypt in the time of King Rian, an Amalekite. He is supposed to be the same as the Hyksos King Khyan of the XV or XVI Dynasty, whose name was found by M. Naville at Bubastis, not far from Zoan. But, as far as can be ascertained by recent research, the Pharaoh of his time was Apepy, or Apophis, who was also a foreigner, of Asiatic extraction, whose sympathy with the Hebrews made him more ready to listen to Joseph as an interpreter of dreams and to release him from prison. A story, called "The Tale of the Two Brothers," Anpu and Bata, resembling that of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, was written by a scribe Enna in the time of Sety II. The romantic story is mixed up with much that is mythical, for in it animals are made to speak, and a river full of crocodiles suddenly appears to separate the angry brothers. At last the elder, Anpu, is convinced of the innocence of his brother Bata, and returns to his house and kills his wife.

So many famines are recorded on the Egyptian monuments, that it is hardly possible to fix on the particular one that took place during the time of Joseph, but that fully described in the tomb of Baba at El Kab corresponds most nearly with it. This famine occurred towards the close of the XVII Dynasty, during the reign of Seq-en-en-ra II., who was killed in battle by Aahmes, the XVIII Dynasty conqueror.

Joseph seems to have acquired a great reputation after his wise interpretation of the dreams in the prison, and the Pharaoh was prepared to believe in his prophecy of the famine. The seven fat and seven lean kine had evident reference to the "seven Hathors," the goddesses who presided over the fertility

of the Nile. This allusion to the Egyptian belief at once appealed to the feelings of the king, and made him willing to follow Joseph's good advice. In consequence, Pharaoh raised him, when 30 years old, to a high position, making him governor over all the land, with power to lay in provision during the years of plenty for the prophesied famine. He then placed a ring on his finger, a chain of gold about his neck, and arrayed him in a vesture of fine linen. When he was thus adorned, Joseph drove from the palace in Pharaoh's second chariot, while the people are said to have shouted "Abrech!" which in the English translation of the Bible from the Hebrew is rendered "Bow the knee." This word, the meaning of which has for long been a difficulty, has now been traced with considerable probability to primitive Babylonian, in which tongue it means "seer," or "soothsayer," and was therefore very likely to be used on such an occasion. The name Zaphnath-paaneah, which was given to Joseph, has also been much discussed and many meanings given to it. It certainly contains two Egyptian words, "pa" and "ankh," the *house* (or else the article "the"), and *life*, and may mean "the house of life."[1] The Coptic version gives as a translation, "revealer of secrets." *Zap* was the old Egyptian title for the Grand Wazir, and might be traced in this name. Again, it might be that as Joseph had revealed more than any of the wise men in Egypt, he was raised to be the head or chief of the "Per-ankh-per," or sacred school of On, and hence the name. M. Naville thinks this latter a probable solution, and suggests that it was to raise Joseph to the undisputed rank of Prince that he was given for his wife "Asenath, daughter of Poti-phera," or Pa-ti-per-aa, gift of the son of the Pharaoh.[2] A form of this name Potiphira, Photep-ra, occurs in the Old Empire, and Asenath also appears under the form of Senat, a queen of the XI Dynasty. The name Asenath may also be derived from that of the goddess Neith. It is strange that Joseph should have called his eldest son "Manasseh," meaning "to forget" all my toil and all my father's house, when he was so soon to be reminded of them and of his early dreams by the arrival of his brethren in Egypt. Jacob and his family must have come to Egypt from Beersheba, through the desert of Sin, by Pelusium, or Sin, to the Kantara, or "Bridge," and thence to Zoan, where they were welcomed by Pharaoh. Jacob was then 130 years old, and the aged patriarch blessed Pharaoh, who gave him the land of Goshen to dwell in. Goshen, or Gesem, has been identified beyond all doubt with the ancient Qessem, the modern Saft-el-Henneh in the Wady Tumilât, through which

[1] Sayce, *Egypt of the Hebrews and Herodotus*. [2] Naville, *Pro. Bib. Soc.*, 1903.

the fresh-water canal now flows. Jacob dwelt for 17 years in the land allotted to him, and when he died he was embalmed and mourned for according to the Egyptian custom,[1] and carried into Canaan for burial in the cave of Machpelah in Mamre, in the tomb of his ancestors. He was followed by Joseph and his brethren, all the servants of Pharaoh, and all the elders of Egypt, and a great company of chariots and horsemen, to the threshing-floor of Atad, where they all mourned for Jacob 7 days. This so impressed the dwellers beyond Jordan that they called the place Abel-mizraim, or "The Mourning of the Egyptians."[2] After the burial of his father, Joseph and all the company returned to Egypt, where his brethren continued to live under his protection. He reached the age of 110 years, the limit of life ardently desired by all good Egyptians. He gave directions that he should not be buried in Egypt, but that his bones should be carried to the Land of Promise, to which he believed that God would, in due time, lead His people; so he was put in a mummy-case to remain till the Exodus, when he was taken by the Children of Israel to the land of Canaan. The names Jacob and Joseph appear to have been the names of gods of Palestine, and were frequently used in Western Asia during the age of the Hyksos, as they occur not only in these forms, but also with the suffix *el*. One of the Hyksos kings was called Yakub-el; and Yasuph-el or Joseph-el has also been found in contracts of the age of Hammurabi in Babylonia.

According to the prophecy,[3] the Israelites dwelt in Egypt 400 years. If, as is supposed, they first came towards the end of the Hyksos period, this would bring the date of the "king who knew not Joseph" down to the time of the XIX Dynasty, when Rameses II. was on the throne, and it is he who is generally supposed to have laid heavy burdens upon them, for they had prospered and increased so greatly that they were feared by him and his people. The store city of Pa-tum, or Pithom, which was excavated in 1883 by M. Naville, proved to have been built by Rameses II., and it is doubtless the city that the Children of Israel were forced to build, where they had to make bricks without straw. Its modern name is Tell-el-Maskhuta, "The Mound of the Statue." Pa-tum was the sacred name of the city, whose civil name was Thukut, or Succoth, so called from the district in which it was situated.

After inflicting severe hardships on the Israelites, Pharaoh further decreed that all their male children should be killed, and this brings the history to the birth of Moses. There is a Jewish tradition that Meris, the daughter of Rameses II., and the Kheta

[1] See page 53. [2] Genesis l. 7–26. [3] Genesis xv. 13.

princess, Ur-maat-nefru-ra, was the princess who found Moses and brought him up at court, when he was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. The knowledge he thus acquired fitted him for the high position of the leader of God's chosen people, when the time came for their deliverance from bondage. Throughout the life of Moses frequent evidences of his Egyptian education can be traced, such as writing on stone, the use of many symbols, and the following of various customs and laws.

Moses was 40 years old when he slew an Egyptian for ill-treating a Hebrew, and in consequence was obliged to fly from the face of Pharaoh into Midian. Here he lived with Jethro, a priest, or prince, of that country, whose daughter Zipporah he afterwards married. After the call Moses had from God in the Burning Bush, and he had there been shown the miracle of turning the rod into a serpent, which he afterwards performed before Pharaoh, he returned to Egypt. This could not have been the Pharaoh at whose court Moses had formerly lived, for the Bible states that the king of Egypt had died,[1] so it is probably Mer-en-ptah, the son of Rameses II., before whom Moses and Aaron appeared. It is not stated for how long a period the plagues continued. The last one was a just retribution for the previous destruction of the Israelitish male children by the Egyptians.

Three kings, Mer-en-ptah, Seti II., and Siptah, followed each other in the space of 30 to 40 years, therefore the Exodus must have taken place during one of these reigns. Siptah's tomb was usurped by Set-nekht of the XX Dynasty, and no sarcophagus of his has been found, so he may have been drowned in the Red Sea, though the Bible history does not actually state that the Pharaoh himself followed the Children of Israel farther than the camp at Pa-ha-hiroth ("Mouth of the Canal"),[2] but that his hosts, his chariots and horsemen, were overwhelmed in the depths of the sea, though in Psalm cxxxvi. 15 it is stated that Pharaoh and his host were overthrown. The spot where the passage of the Red Sea took place is doubtful. Brugsch supposed that Zuph, or Yam Suph, or Suphah, the Red or Reed Sea,[3] was near the Lake Serbonis, but subsequently changed his opinion, and others hold that it is farther south, near the Gulf of Akaba. Migdol, or "The Fort," is supposed to be near Serapeum, between the Bitter Lakes and Lake Timsah, where the water being shallow is often driven back by the influence of a strong east wind.

The wonderful scene is most vividly described in the triumphant Song of Miriam.[4] The words and construction are curiously Edomitish. A very remarkable stela was found by

[1] Exodus ii. 23. [2] Exodus xiv. 9. [3] Numbers xxi. 14. [4] Exodus xv.

Petrie at Thebes, dating from the 5th year of Mer-en-ptah, which contains the only mention of the name of Israel yet discovered. It is a song of triumph over the defeat of the Lybians and their allies, and enumerates many Syrian tribes overthrown by them in lines such as the following:—

"Kheta . . . is in peace, captive is Canaan and full of misery . . . Askelon is carried away . . . the Israelites are lost, their seed is not . . . Syria (Khar) is like the widows of Egypt. The totality of all the lands is at peace, for whoever rebelled was chastised by King Meremptah."[1]

It would appear from this record that the Israelites had not yet reached the Promised Land, but were still wandering in the desert. It is possible that the war of Rameses III. against the Shasu was really waged against the wandering Israelites, but nothing can be determined.

It is not necessary to follow the history of the Israelites any further here. Their later dealings with the various Pharaohs of Egypt have been alluded to under their proper dates in the body of the work.

It may be as well to mention a few more of the various opinions regarding the dates and the identity of the different Pharaohs connected with the Children of Israel. According to Manetho, as quoted by Josephus, the Hyksos dominion lasted 511 years, whereas Africanus makes it (according to Erman) 661 years, so that all the events from Abram to Joseph could have taken place within that time. A stela belonging to the earlier part of the reign of Rameses II. is dated in the 400th year of Set-nebti Set-aa-pehti, long supposed to be a Hyksos king, though it is now pretty well agreed that the Hyksos god Set, and not a king, is referred to. Josephus quotes a very confused story of a certain Osarsiph, who headed a rebellion of the "impure" against Amenophis, the Pharaoh who had oppressed and driven them out of the land. Osarsiph seems to be the Egyptian equivalent of Joseph, and the story is evidently based on that of Moses, while Amenophis has been identified with Mer-en-ptah. A Jewish calculation makes the date of the Exodus to have taken place on a Thursday in March 1314 B.C.. Ussher gives it 1491. The Armenian version of the Chronicle of Eusebius calls the Pharaoh of the Exodus Achencheris, 9th king of the XVIII Dynasty. Professor Lieblein seems to think that there are 315 years between Abram and Joseph, and 215 between Joseph and Moses; that Joseph lived in the time of Apepy, in 1535; that the Hyksos were driven out of Egypt in 1490; that the Pharaoh of the oppression was Thothmes III., who is known to

[1] Pinches' translation.

have carried out great works in the Delta; that the Exodus took place in 1320, during the reign of Amenhetep III.; and that Rameses II. lived 200 years after the Exodus.

The contrary opinion, founded on the genealogies of the Old Testament, considers it impossible for the Exodus to have been so early; in fact, the total of the years of the high priests' reigns from David to Aaron does not carry back as far as Mer-en-ptah.

Rawlinson says the "king who knew not Joseph" was Seti I., and that Rameses II. was the oppressor. Both Bunsen and Lepsius regard Mer-en-ptah son of Rameses as the Pharaoh of the Exodus, dating him 1320 B.C. Petrie agrees with this, but gives the king's date as 1270. Maspero thinks that it took place in the time of Seti II., about 1250 B.C., making the entrance of the Children of Israel into Egypt to have been about the year 1700 or 1680 B.C.

APPENDIX

DYNASTY I OF THINIS.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.	LISTS.[1]
Menes.	Aha-Men.	Mena, A.T.
Athothis.	Zer-Ta.	Teta, A.
Kenkenes.	Zet-Ath.	Ateth, A.
Uenephes.	...	Ata, A.
Usaphaidos.	Den-Setui.	Hesepti, A.
Miebidos.	Azab-Merpaba.	Mer-ba-p, A.
		Mer-ba-pen, T.S.
Semempses.	Mersekha-shemsu.	Sem-en-ptah, A.
Bienekhes.	Qa-Sen.	Qebh, A.T.S.

DYNASTY II OF THINIS.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.	LISTS.
Boethos.	...	Bezau, A.
		Neter-bau, S.
Kaiekhos.	Ra-neb Ka-Kau.	Ka-kau, A.S.
Binothris.	Neter-en.	Ba-neter-en, A.
		Ba-neter-u, S.
Tlas.	Sekhem-ab Per-ab-sen.	Uaz-nes, A.S.
Sethenes.	Send.	Senda, A.
		Send, T.S.
Khaires.	Ka-Ra.	Neter-Ka, T.
Nepher Kheres.	...	Nefer-ka-Ra, S.
Sesokhris.	Kha-Sekhem.	Nefer-ka-seker, T.S.
Kheneres.	Kha-Sekhemui.	Hezef... T. Fefa, S.

[1] A = Abydos List. T = Turin List. S = Sakkara List. K = Karnak List.

DYNASTY III OF MEMPHIS.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.	LISTS.
...	...	Zazay, A.T.
...	...	Beby, S.
Nekherophes.	Sa-nekht Neb-Ka-Ra.	Neb-Ka.
Tosorthros.	Neter-Khet Zeser.	Zeser, S.
Tyreis.	...	...
Mesokhris.	...	...
Suphis.	...	...
Tosertasis.	...	Zeser-teta, A.T.S.
Akhes.	...	Sezes, A.
Kerpheres.	Huni.	Nefer-Ka-Ra, A.S. Huni, S.T.
Siphouris.	Seneferu.	Seneferu, A.K.S.

DYNASTY IV OF MEMPHIS.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.	LISTS.
Soris.	Shaaru.	...
Suphis (I).	Khufu.	Khufu, A.S.
Suphis (II).	Kha-ef-Ra.	Kha-ef-Ra, A.
Menkheres.	Men-kau-Ra.	Men-kau-Ra, A.
Rhatoises.	Ra-ded-ef.	Ra-ded-ef, A.S.
Bikheris.	Shepses-ka-ef.	Shepses-ka-ef, A.
Sebek-kheres.	...	...
Thamphthis.	Ymhetep.	...

DYNASTY V OF ELEPHANTINE.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.	LISTS.
Userkheres.	User-ka-ef.	User-ka-ef, A.S.
Sepheres.	Sahu-Ra.	Sahu-Ra, A.K.
Neferkhres.	Nefer-ar-ka-Ra.	Nefer-ar-ka-Ra, S.
		? Ka-kaa, A.
Sisires.	Shepses-ka-Ra.	Shepses-ka-Ra, S.
Kheres.	Nefer-ef-Ra.	Nefer-ef-Ra, A.
		Kha-nefer-Ra, S.
Rhathures.	Ra-en-user, An.	Ra-en-user, A.K.
Menkheres.	Men-kau-hor.	Men-kau-hor, A.S.
Tankheres.	Dad-ka-Ra, Assa.	Dad-ka-Ra, A.
		Assa, K.
Onnos.	Unas.	Unas, A. S.

DYNASTY VI OF MEMPHIS.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.	LISTS.
Othoes.	Teta. Aty.	Teta, A.K.S.
		User-ka-Ra, A.
Phios.	Mery-Ra, Pepŷ (I).	Mery-Ra, A. Pepŷ, S. K.
Methusufis.	Mer-en-Ra, Mehti em-sa-ef.	Mer-en-Ra, A.K.S.
		Mehti-em-sa-ef.
Phiops.	Nefer-ka-Ra, Pepŷ (II).	Nefer-ka-Ra, A. S.
Menthesuphis.	...	Mer-en-Ra, Mehti-em-sa-ef, A.
...	...	Neter-ka-Ra, A.
Nitokris.	...	Men-ka-Ra, A. Net-aqerti, T.

DYNASTIES VII AND VIII OF MEMPHIS.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.	ABYDOS LIST.
Manetho gives the origin and duration of these dynasties, together with the numbers of the kings (5 for the VII and 27 for the VIII), but he does not furnish us with their names.	No monuments appear to be known of these kings: the few scarabs usually put down to this date being certainly post-XII Dynasty.	Nefer-ka-Ra. Nefer-ka-Ra Nebŷ. Dad-ka-Ra Shema. Nefer-ka-Ra Khendu. Mer-en-hor. Senefer-ka. Ra-en-ka. Nefer-ka-Ra Tererer-eru. Nefer-ka-hor. Nefer-ka-Ra Pepŷ-senb. Senefer-ka Anu. [User?]-kau-Ra. Nefer-kau-Ra. Nefer-kau-hor. Nefer-er-ka-Ra.

DYNASTIES IX AND X OF HERACLEOPOLIS.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.	TURIN LIST.
Manetho gives 4 kings for the IX and 19 kings for the X Dynasty, but only names one of them; Akhthoes (Khetŷ).	Merŷ-ab-Ra Khetŷ. Merŷ-ka-Ra.	Khetŷ. ... Merŷ-ka-Ra. ... Nefer-ka-Ra. Khetŷ.

DYNASTY XI OF THEBES.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.	LISTS.
No names given by Manetho.	Antef (Prince). Neb-kheru-Ra Mentu-hetep (I). Antef-aa (*Hor-uah-ankh*). Neb-hetep-Ra Mentu-hetep (II). Neb-taui-Ra Mentu-hetep (III). Se-ankh-ka-Ra Mentu-hetep (IV).	Antef (Prince), K. Neb-kheru-Ra, K.T. A.S. Antef. Mentu-hetep, K. Se-ankh-ka-Ra, A. T.S.

DYNASTY XII OF THEBES.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.	LISTS.
Ammenemes.	Sehetep-ab-Ra Amen-em-hat (I).	Sehetep-ab-Ra, A.K. T.S.
Sesonkhosis.	Kheper-ka-Ra Usertsen (I).	Kheper-ka-Ra, A. K.S.
Ammenemes.	Nub-kau-Ra Amen-em-hat (II).	Nub-kau-Ra, A.K.S.
Sesostris.	Kha-kheper-Ra Usertsen (II).	Kha-kheper-Ra, A.S.
Lakhares.	Kha-kau-Ra Usertsen (III).	Kha-kau-Ra, A.T.S.
Ameres.	Maat-en-Ra Amen-em-hat (III).	Maat-en-Ra, A.T.S.
Amenemes.	Maa-kheru-Ra Amen-em-hat (IV).	Maa-kheru-Ra, A.K. T.S.
Skemiophres.	Sebek-neferu-Ra.	Sebek-neferu-Ra, K.T. Sebek-ka-Ra, S.

DYNASTY XIII OF THEBES.

Manetho: "of Sixty Diospolite Kings."

TURIN PAPYRUS.	MONUMENTS.	KARNAK LIST.
[Sekhem]-khu-taui-Ra.		
Sekhem-ka-Ra.	Sekhem-ka-Ra.	
Amenemhat-Ra.		
Sehetep-ab-Ra.		
Aunef.		
Se-ankh-ab-Ra.	Se-ankh-ab-Ra Amen-y-antef-amenemhat.	Se-ankh-ab-Ra, K.
Se-men-ka-Ra.		
Sehetep-ab-Ra.		
.....ka.		
Nezem-ab-Ra.		
Sebek-[hete]p-Ra.		
Ren-senb.		
Au-ab-Ra.		
Sezef.....Ra.		
Sekhem-khu-taui-Ra Sebekhetep.	Sekhem-khu-taui-Ra Sebekhetep.	Sekhem-khu-taui-Ra K.
User.....Ra.		
Se-[menkh]-ka-Ra Mer-meshau.	Se-menkh-ka-Ra Mer-meshau.	
.....?		
.....?		
Sekhem-[se-uaz-taui]-Ra Sebekhetep.	Sekhem-se-uaz-taui-Ra Sebekhetep.	Sekhem-se-uaz-taui-Ra, K.
Kha-seshes-Ra Neferhetep.	Kha-seshes-Ra Neferhetep.	Kha-seshes-Ra, K.
Hat-heru-sa-Ra.	Hat-heru-sa.	
Kha-nefer-Ra Sebekhetep.	Kha-nefer-Ra Sebekhetep.	Kha-nefer-Ra, K.
[Destroyed.]	Kha-ka-Ra.	Kha-[ka]-Ra, K.
[Destroyed.]	Kha-ankh-Ra Sebekhetep.	
Kha-hetep-Ra Sebekhetep.	Kha-hetep-Ra Sebekhetep.	
Uah-ab-Ra Aa-ab.	Uah-ab-Ra Aa-ab.	
Mer-nefer-Ra.	Mer-nefer-Ra Aŷ.	Mer-nefer-Ra (?),K.
Mer-hetep-Ra.	Mer-hetep-Ra Ana.	Mer-hetep-Ra, K.
Se-ankh-en-(?)-Ra.		
Mer-sekhem-Ra (?).		Mer-sekhem-Ra, K.
Se-uaz-kau-Ra Hora.		
Mer-kau-Ra.	Mer-kau-Ra Sebekhetep.	Mer-kau-Ra, K.
Several lacunæ follow here, and then we proceed with a different class of names which perhaps belong to Manetho's.		

DYNASTY XIV OF 76 XOITE KINGS.

None of the names of these kings have yet been found in the lists or on the monuments:—

Nehesi-Ra.	...zefa-Ra.	Nefer-tum-Ra.
Kha-kheru-Ra.	...uben-Ra.	Sekhem-...-Ra.
Neb-fau (?)-Ra.	...	Ka-...-Ra.
Seheb-Ra.	Her-ab-Ra.	Nefer-ab-Ra.
Mer-zefa-Ra.	Neb-senu-Ra.	A.....Ra.
Seta-ka-Ra.	[Three lacunæ.]	Kha-...-Ra.
Neb-zefa-Ra.	Se-kheper-en-Ra.	Nefer-ka-Ra.
Uben-Ra.	Ded-kheru-Ra.	Se-men-...-Ra.
Se-nefer-Ra.	Se-ankh-Ra.	

[About 50 other names follow, but they are nearly all very mutilated and scattered over small fragments of papyrus, that their order is most uncertain.]

DYNASTIES XV AND XVI HYKSOS.

Manetho enumerates the names of 6 Hyksos kings of the XV Dynasty, and gives 32 as the number of the Hyksos kings of the XVI Dynasty. The names of the 6 kings of the XV Dynasty are:—

Salatis.	Apakhnan.	Anan.
Bnon.	Apophis.	Ases.

None of these names occur in the list of kings, but the following names of Hyksos kings have been found on the monuments:—

*Aa-hetep-Ra.	Khyan (Se-user-en-Ra.)	*Se-user-en-Ra (Khyan.)
Aa-mu.	*Maa-ab-Ra.	Shesha.
Aa-user-Ra (Apepy 1).	*Mer-user-Ra (Y-qeb-her.)	Uazed.
Apepy 1., see Aa-user-Ra.	Nehesi.	Ya-mu (?)
Apepa (Prince).	*Nub-taui-Ra.	Y-keb.
Keby.	Qar.	Y-qeb-her (Mer'-user-Ra.)
*Kha-mu-Ra.	*Se-kha-en-Ra.	
*Kha-user-Ra.		

UNPLACED KINGS OF UPPER EGYPT OF THE PERIOD INTERVENING BETWEEN THE END OF THE XII AND THE BEGINNING OF THE XVII DYNASTIES.

Group A.	Se-nefer-ab-Ra Usertsen. Amen-em-hat Sebekhetep. Ne-maa-ne-kha-Ra Khenzer. Se-baq-ka-Ra.	Probably early XIII Dynasty.
Group B.	Men-khau-Ra Senaa-ab. Ded-nefer-Ra Dedu-mes. Senb-ma-iu. Se-uaz-en-Ra. Shens. Hetep-ab-Ra Hor-nest-her-ef Sa-Aamu. Beba-ankh.	Positions doubtful.

Group C.	Nub-kheperu-Ra Antef, K. Sekhem-uaz-khan-Ra Sebek-em-sa-ef. Sekhem-se-shedi-taui-Ra Sebek-em-sau-ef. Sekhem-nefer-khau-Ra Up-uat-em-sa-ef. Sekhem-uah-kha-Ra Ra-hetep. Sekhem-se-men-taui-Ra Tehuti. Seshes-her-maa-Ra Antef-aa. Seshes-ka-Ra Amenemhat-senb-ef. Seshes-up-maa-Ra Antef-aa.	Predecessors of group D.
Group D.	Se-qen-en-Ra Tau-aa, K. Se-qen-en-Ra Tau-aa-aa. Se-qen-en-Ra Ta-aa qen. Uaz-kheper-Ra Ka-mes. Se-khent-neb-Ra (or Se-nekht-en-Ra, K.)	Predecessors of the XVII and XVIII Dynasties.

DYNASTIES XVII AND XVIII OF THEBAN.

Manetho gives 5 Diospolite Kings as composing the XVII, and 8 Diospolite Kings as composing the XVIII Dynasties.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.	LISTS.
Amos, Alisphragmonthosis.	Neb-pehti-Ra Aah-mes.	Neb-pehti-Ra, A.
Amenophis.	Zeser-ak-Ra Amenhetep (I).	Zeser-ka-Ra, A.
Tethmosis.	Aa-kheper-Ra Tehuti-mes (I).	Aa-kheper-Ra, A.
Khebron.	Aa-kheper-en-Ra Tehuti-mes (II).	Aa-kheper-Ra, A.
Amersis, Amesses.	Maat-ka-Ra Khnemt-Amen Hat-shepsut.	
Misaphris, Mephres.	Men-kheper-Ra Tehuti-mes (III).	Men-kheper-Ra, A.
Misphragmonthosis.	Aa-kheperu-Ra Amenhetep (II).	Aa-kheperu-Ra, A.
Tonthmosis.	Men-kheperu-Ra Tehuti-mes (IV).	Men-kheperu-Ra, A.
Amenophis.	Neb-maat-Ra Amenhetep (III).	Neb-maat-Ra, A.
Oros.	Nefer-kheperu-Ra Ua-en-Ra Akh-en-aten.	
Akherres, Akenkres.	Ankh-kheperu-Ra Se-menkh-ka-Ra Zeser-kheperu.	
Rathos.	Kheperu-neb-Ra Tut-ankh-amen.	
Akherres.	Kheper-kheperu-ar-maat-Ra Aŷ.	
Armais.	Zeser-kheperu-Ra Horemheb.	Zeser-kheperu-Ra, A.

DYNASTY XIX THEBAN.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.
Ramesses (I) (Menophris).	Men-pehti-Ra Ra-mesesu.
Sethos (I).	Men-maat-Ra Setŷ mer-en-Ptah.
Ramesses (II).	User-maat-Ra setep-en-Ra Ra-mesesu.
Menephtes.	Ne-ba-Ra mery-Amen Hetep-her-Maat.
[Amen-meses].	Men-ma-Ra setep-en-Ra Amen-meses Heq. Uas.
Sethos (II).	User-kheperu-Ra Setŷ mer-en-Ptah.
Menephtes Siphtas.	Akh-en-Ra setep-en-Ra Mer-en-Ptah Sa-Ptah.
Setnekhtes.	User-khau-Ra Set-nekht.

DYNASTY XX THEBAN.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.
Ramesses (III).	User-maat-Ra mery-Amen Ra-meses (Heq. An.).
Ramesses (IV).	User-maat-Ra setep-en-Amen Ra-meses (Heq. Maat).
Ramesses (V).	User-maat-Ra se-kheper-en-Ra Ra-meses.
Ramesses (VI).	Neb-maat-Ra mery-Amen Ra-meses (Neter Heq. An.).
Ramesses (VII).	User-Ra mery-Amen setep-en-Ra Ra-meses (Neter-atef Heq. An.).
Ramesses (VIII).	User-maat-Ra akh-en-Amen Ra-meses.
Ramesses (IX).	Se-kha-en-Ra mery-Amen Rameses (Sa-Ptah).
Ramesses (X).	Nefer-ka-Ra setep-en-Ra Rameses (Kha-em-Uast).
Ramesses (XI).	Kheper-maat-Ra Rameses (mery-Amen).
Ramesses (XII).	Men-maat-Ra setep-en-Neith Rameses (Neter Heq. Anu).

DYNASTY XXI (*a*) TANITE.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.
Smendes.	Neter-kheper-Ra setep-en-Amen Sa-menthu.
Psonsemes.	Aa-kheper-Ra Pa-seb-khanu.
Nepherkheres.	... ...
Amenophthis.	Setep-en-Ra (?) Amen-em-apet.
Osokhor.	... ...
Psinakhes.	... ...
Phousemes.	... ... Hor-pa-seb-khanu.

DYNASTY XXI (*b*) THEBAN.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.
Ignored by Manetho.	Hen-neter-tep-en-Amen Sa-Amen Heri-hor. Piankhŷ. Kheper-kha-Ra Setep-en-Amen Pai-nezem (I) Mery-Amen. Masahirti Nesi-ba-en-dedu. Men-kheper-Ra Pai-nezem (II) Mery-Amen.

DYNASTY XXII BUBASTITE.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.
Sesonkhis.	Hez-kheper-Ra Shashanq (I).
Osorkon.	Sekhem-kheper-Ra Ua-sar-ken (I).
Takelotis.	Hez-Ra Tekerut (I).
Osorkon.	User-maat-Ra Ua-sar-ken (II).
Sesonkhis.	Seshes-kheper-Ra Shashanq (II).
Takelotis.	Hez-kheper-Ra Tekerut (II).
Sesonkhis.	User-maat-Ra Shashanq (III).
Pikhi.	User-maat-Ra Pa-mayŷ.
Sesonkhis.	Aa-kheper-Ra Shashanq (IV).

DYNASTY XXIII TANITE.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.
Petsubastis.	Se-her-ab-Ra Pe-de-sa-Bast.
Osorkon.	Aa-kheper-Ra Ua-sar-ken.
Psamous.	... ...

DYNASTY XXIV (*a*) SAITE.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.
Tnephakhtos.	Tefnekht (?).
Bokkheris.	Uah-ka-Ra Bak-ren-ef.
Set (Sethos).	... ...

DYNASTY XXIV (*b*) ETHIOPIAN.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.
... ...	Kash-ta.
... ...	Men-kheper-Ra Piankhy.
... ...	Mery-amen Piankhy.

DYNASTY XXV ETHIOPIAN.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.
Sebikhos.	Nefer-ka-Ra Sha-ba-ka.
Sebitlkhos.	Ded-kau-Ra Sha-ba-ta-ka.
Tearkhos.	Nefer-tum-khu-Ra Taharq.
	User-maat-Ra Rud-amen.

DYNASTY XXVI SAITE.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.
Stephinates.	... ...
Nekhepsos.	... ...
Nekhau.	... ...
Psametikhos.	Uah-ab-Ra Psemtek.
Nekhau.	Uhem-ab-Ra Nekau.
Psametikhos.	Nefer-ab-Ra Psemtek.
Ouaphris.	Haa-ab-Ra Uah-ab-Ra.
Amosis.	Khnem-ab-Ra Aahmes-sa Neith.
Psametikhos.	Ankh-ka-en-Ra Psemtek.

DYNASTY XXVII PERSIAN.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.
Kambyses.	Mesut-Ra Kembathet.
Magoi.	... ...
Dareios.	Se-tut-Ra An-ta-ru-sha.
Xerxes.	Khshairsha Pa-aa.
Artabanos.	... ...
Artaxerxes.	Artakhshashas Pa-aa.
Xerxes.	... ...
Sogdianos.	... ...
Dareios.	... ...

DYNASTY XXVIII SAITE.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.
Amyrteos.	... ...
Khebas.	Se-nen-Ptah Khabebsha.
Amyrteos.	... ...
Pausiris.	... ...
Psametikhos.	... ...

DYNASTY XXIX MENDES.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.
Nephorites.	Ba-en-neteru Naif-aau-rud.
Akhoris.	Maat-khnem-Ra Hekaru.
Psamouthis.	User-Ra Ps-sa-mut.
Nephorites.	... ...

DYNASTY XXX SEBENNYTOS.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.
Nekhtanebes.	Senezem-ab-Ra Nekht-her-heb.
Teos.	... ...
Nekhtanebos.	Kheper-ka-Ra Nekht-neb-ef.

DYNASTY XXXI PERSIAN.

MANETHO.	MONUMENTS.
Okhos.	... ...
Arses.	... ...
Dareios.	... ...

PREFECTS OF EGYPT.

	B.C.
1. Gaius Cornelius Gallus	30–26.
2. Gaius Petronius	26–25.
3. Ælius Gallus	25–24.
4. Gaius Petronius (for 2nd time)	24–22.
5. Publius Rubrius Barbarus	13–12.
6. Gaius Turranius	7–6.
	A.D.
7. Publius Octavius	September 1–February 3.
8 Marcus Magius Maximus	Under Augustus.
9. Gaius Julius Aquila	10–11.
10. Æmilius Rectus	14.
11. Lucius Seius Strabo	15–16.
12. Vitrasius Pollio	16–17.
13. Gaius Galerius	20–21.
14. Vitrasius Pollio	32.
15. Tiberius Julius Severus	32.
16. Aulus Avillius Flaccus	32–37.
17. Nævius Sertorius Macro	37.
18. Gaius Vitrasius Pollio	April 39–41.
19. Lucius Æmilius Rectus	41–42.
20. Gaius Julius Postumus	August 45–47.
21. Gnæus Vergilius Capito	47–April 52.
22. Lucius Lusius Geta	April 54.

	A.D.
23. Tiberius Claudius Balbillus	55.
24. Marcus Mattius Modestus	Between Nero and Nerva.
25. Lucius Julius Vestinus	59–July 61.
26. Cæcina Tuscus	66.
27. Ponticus	66.
28. Tiberius Julius Alexander	September 68–July 69.
29. Tiberius Julius Lupus	71.
30. Valerius Paulinus	About 71.
31. Cassianus Priscus	(?)
32. Gaius Tettius Africanus	February 82.
33. Lucius Laberius Maximus	June 83.
34. Ursus	About 84.
35. Gaius Septimius Vegetus	86–February 88.
36. Marcus Mettius Rufus	October 89–May 90.
37. Titus Petronius Secundus	March 95.
38. Gaius Pompeius Planta	98–February 99.
39. Gaius Minicius Italus	About 103.
40. Gaius Vibius Maximus	August 103–March 107.
41. Gaius Sulpicius Similis	August 107–November 109.
42. Marcus Rutilius Lupus	March 114–January 117.
43. Quintus Marcius Turbo	117.
44. Quintus Rammius Martialis	April 118.
45. Titus Haterius Nepos	February 121–April 124.
46. Titus Flavius Titianus	March 126–August 131.
47. Marcus Petronius Mamertinus	November 133–February 135.
48. Valerius Eudæmon	137–139.
49. Gaius Avidius Heliodorus	March 139–May 143.
50. Lucius Valerius Proculus	145–147.
51. Marcus Petronius Honoratus	147–January 148.
52. Lucius Munatius Felix	September 151.
53. Dinarchus (?)	About 153.
54. Marcus Sempronius Liberalis	August 154–Oct. 158–Jan. 156.
55. Titus Furius Victorinus	About 160.
56. Postumus	161.
57. Lucius Volusius Mæcianus	November 161–March 162, and about 159.
58. Marcus Annius Suriacus	April 162–February 163.
59. Titus Flavius Titianus	164–May 166.
60. Marcus Bassæus Rufus	168–169.
61. Gaius F. Calvisius Statianus	174–October 175.
62. Gaius Cæcilius Salvianus (vice-prefect)	April 176.
63. Titus Pactumeius Magnus	August 176–180.
64. Flavius Priscus	181.
65. Veturius Macrinus	June 181–183.
66. Titus Longæus Rufus	185.
67. Pomponius Faustinianus	January 186–September 187.
68. M. Aurelius Papirius Dionysius	About 188.
69. Lucius Mantennius Sabinus	March 193–April 194.
70. Marcus Ulpius Primianus	194–February 196.
71. Æmilius Saturninus	July 197–199–200.
72. Quintus Mæcius Lætus	201–202.
73. Subatianus Aquila	202–October 207.
74. S.....(?)	April 210.
75. Septimus Heraclitus	March 215.

	A.D.
76. Valerius Datus	June 216–February 217.
77. Basilianus	217–218.
78. Geminius Chrestus	August 219–220–221.
79. Lucius Domitius Honoratus	January 222.
80. Marcus Ædinius Julianus	223.
81. Mevius Honoratianus	June 232.
82. Epagathus (under Alexander)	Between 222 and 235.
83. Gaius Julius Priscus	Before 244.
84. Valerius Firmus	June 246–March 247.
85. Aurelius Appius Sabinus	July 250.
86. Murrentius Mauricius	About 255.
87. Æmilianus (under Gallienus)	Between 254 and 268.
88. Juvencus	266–267.
89. Celerinus (under Carus)	Between 282 and 284.
90. Sallustius	Before 288.
91. Valerius Pompeianus	288–289.
92. Pos(idi)us	About 302.
93. Clodius Culcianus	February 305.
94. Satrius Arrianus	307.
95. Aurelius Proclinus	3rd century.
96. .....banus	Late 3rd or early 4th century.
97. Flavius Epiphanius	4th century.
98. Antonius Gregorius	314.
99. Sabinianus	August 323.
100. Flavius Antonius Theodorus	March 338.
101. Flavius Strategius	349.
102 Nestorius	350.
103. Longinianus	354.
104. Maximus	356.
105. Parnasius	357.
106. Pomponius Metrodorus	July 357.
107. Saint Artemius	360.
108. Ecdicius	December 362.
109. Tatianus	May 367, 365–368.
110. Publius*	369–370.
111. Tatianus (for the 2nd time)	371–373.
112. Ælius Palladius	374.
113. Tatianus (for the 3rd time)	375.
114. Hadrianus	376–377.
115. Flavius Ælius Gessius	378.
116. Julianus	March 380.
117. Paulinus	380.
118. Bassianus	381.
119. Palladius	May 382.
120. Hypatius	May 383.
121. Antoninus	383–384.
122. Optatus	February 384.
123. Florentius	December 384.
124. Paulinus (for the 2nd time)	July–November 385.
125. Eusebius	385.
126. Florentius (for the 2nd time)	February–May 386.
127. Paulinus	November 386.
128. Erythrius	April 388.
129. Alexander	388.

	A.D.
130. Euagrius	389.
131. Alexander (for the 2nd time)	February 390.
132. Euagrius (for the 2nd time)	March 392.
133. Hypatius (for the 2nd time)	April 392.
134. Potamius	June–July 393.
135. Charmosynus	395.
136. Gennadius	February 396.
137. Remigius	March 396.
138. Archelaus	June–November 397.
139. Pentadius	Between 390 and 430.
140. Euthalius (successor of Pentadius)	(?)
141. Aurelius Clemens	4th or 5th century.
142. Callistus	August 414.
143. Orestes	415.
144. Charmosynus	April 435.
145. Cleopater	435.
146. Theodorus	Between 440 and 450.
147. Florus	453.
148. Anthemius	Between 479 and 482.
149. Apollonius	482.
150. Eustathius	501.
151. Theodosius	516.
152. Dioscorus	Between 536 and 538.
153. Rhodo	„ 538 „ 542.
154. Liberius	„ 538 „ 542.
155. ..... (the nephew of Justinus Thrax)	563.
156. Johannes	Between 582 and 602.
157. Paulus	„ 582 „ 602.
158. Johannes (for the 2nd time)	„ 582 „ 602.
159. Constantinus	„ 582 „ 602.
160. Menas	„ 582 „ 602.
161. Manuel	626.
162. Theodorus	639.
163. Cyrus (el Makawkis), Patriarch and Prefect	640?

HITTITES, ETRUSCANS, AND HYKSOS.

SINCE finishing this book, a few most interesting details have come to light, and have been discussed, relating to the connexion between the Hittites of Syria, the Etruscans in Italy, and the Hyksos in Egypt. There appears to be between these nations a decided likeness, both in their features, dress, and other particulars, and these seem to point to a common origin, which is to be sought for, among the Turarian or Mongolian peoples. In their cast of countenance they greatly resemble each other, having square faces with high cheek-bones, as is seen on the so-called Hyksos monuments in Egypt. Their languages, so far as they have been deciphered, show many corresponding peculiarities, traceable also in the Akkadian or Sumerian dialects of the Mongols of ancient Mesopotamia. A Hittite text recently found at Babylon shows this similarity, and also proves the intercourse of this race with that kingdom in very early times, and the tablets found at Tell-el-Amarna and Lakish point to a continuance

of this intercourse between Babylonia and Egypt, Assyria and the Southern Hittites of Kadesh, and the surrounding country.

It was but a few years ago that the Hittites were found to have been a powerful nation, and it has since appeared that they had attained to a high state of civilisation at a very early date.

The resemblance between the Etruscans and Mongolians was noticed by Dr. Isaac Taylor in 1874 in his book, *Etruscan Researches*, and that between the Hittites and Mongolians by a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1901. This was also pointed out by Dr. Birch and Sir H. Rawlinson, and by Captain Conder, who in 1898, in his work, *The Hittites and their Language*, says, "There is no doubt that the Hittites and Etruscans were originally Mongolian." The point in discussion now, therefore, is how far these peoples are connected with the Hyksos of Egypt? The letter in the *Times* of 28th October 1903, by J. M. Mackay, P. C. Newberry, and J. Garstang clears the way for students, and seems to prove in a plain and satisfactory manner that these people sprang from the same source. In the XII Dynasty there is a decided Mongolian type of features on the monuments, especiably noticeable in the statue of Amenemhat III. A similarity may also be traced in their costumes; the head-dress, with the hair drawn into a pigtail at the back and the ends curled round in front, is quite unlike anything previously known in Egypt, and is precisely the same as is shown on the figures of both Hittite and Etruscan monuments. The shoes turned up at the toes, the cloak fastened round the waist by a belt, leaving one arm free, and one end thrown over the other shoulder like a Roman toga, the long dress with a fringed edge, also fastened round the waist, and the caps of various shapes—had their counterparts in all these nations; and the like forms have also been found in Crete. The Hyksos are known to have been the first to introduce horses into Egypt, bringing them from the other side of the Mediterranean, and the trappings and harness and chariots are exactly the same as those of the Hittites and Etruscans. The arms, too, are similar—the short sword, double axe, the shield shaped like the figure 8, and the staffs of office decorated with emblems. Pictures of animals, both natural and grotesque, with wings and human heads, and other strange forms, are common to each. The lion was their symbol of power, and on a monument in Egypt, Anta, the goddess of war, is depicted standing on one of these formidable creatures. The goddess Astarte is often found; and the god Sutekh, or Set, who belongs to the pantheon of all three races, is well known to have been the cause of a quarrel between the old Egyptians and the foreign (Hyksos) conquerors, who pressed the worship of this divinity upon the people.

The jewellery of the daughters of Queen Nefert of the XII Dynasty, found at Dahshur, is most wonderfully beautiful, and resembles in certain details that of Etruscan workmanship which has been found in Etruria and Lydia and in other parts of Asia Minor; and though at present no actual Hittite jewellery has been discovered, it is possible that Queen Nefert may have been a princess of the Hittites who imported her jewels, as they are different from those found of an earlier date in Egypt. A great many Hyksos scarabs exist ornamented with scrolls of a type peculiar to that period, and corresponding in their designs to the scrolls and devices used by these other peoples. These great and most interesting facts will doubtless be further investigated, and the difficult question as to Who were the Hyksos? settled before many years are past.

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